Daily Report

East Europe

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Croatian, B-H Leaders Meet To Discuss Peace

Granic Denies Plans To Intervene

AU0401175794 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Report by Elisa Wasch]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] In Vienna talks about Bosnia have started today again, for the second time in three weeks. The meeting between Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic will deal mainly with territorial issues. Elisa Wasch reports on the negotiations.

[Wasch] Both sides today stressed that they finally want to put an end to the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Over the past months, the Muslim government units in central Bosnia managed to conquer six towns; about 70,000 Croats are surrounded there. As a result, over the past days threats have come from Zagreb. Both President Tudjman and Defense Minister Susak spoke of a potential Croatian military intervention in Bosnia if the Muslims do not cease their offensive. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, who participated in today's talks, denies that there are any plans for a Croatian intervention.

[Begin Granic recording, in English with superimposed German translation] We do not have any plan to make a military intervention. We will talk about how we can put an end to the fighting, about a cease-fire, and about future relations between Croats and Muslims. [end recording]

In addition, Granic said that Croatia continues to be willing to negotiate access to the Adriatic Sea, which is demanded by the Muslims. However, Zagreb no longer wants to talk about the Adriatic port of Neum, which the Muslims want to have.

[Being Granic recording] Croatia is ready to discuss access to the sea but not Neum. [end recording]

The Vienna talks are still going on and will be continued tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Granic, Silajdzic Comment on Talks

LD0401193194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The first round of Croatian-Muslim negotiations on the peaceful resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict ended in Vienna late this afternoon. The most important topics were the cessation of the Croat-Muslim conflict, sending humanitarian aid, and the problem of territorial settlement between the Croatian and Muslim communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. An agreement has been reached that in the next two years Mostar should be administered by the European Union.

The heads of delegations, [Croatian Foreign Minister] Mate Granic and [Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister] Haris Silajdzic, also met peace negotiators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. Negotiations are to be resumed tomorrow.

A good start in Vienna: a principled readiness for peace, and the free dispatch of humanitarian aid to all. At one-hour tete-a-tete talks held behind closed doors, the envoys for President Tudjman and President Izetbegovic set the agenda for the talks, and then all members of the delegations entered the conference hall in Vienna's Hofburg Palace. The Muslim side expressed its principled readiness for a complete cease-fire. This is a preparatory meeting for Geneva, with envoys being in permanent consultations with Zagreb and Sarajevo.

[Begin Granic recording] We spent most of the time on cease-fire talks and future Croatian-Muslim relations. [end recording]

They spoke about the main issues—securing aid for the entire population, Croatians and Muslims, securing freedom of movement for aid convoys. They also discussed the completion of POW exchanges based on the all-for-all principle, whereby the Croatians have so far done more. Topic number one was a cease-fire and the cessation of all hostilities.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Has a step been made toward peace, in central Bosnia for instance?

[Silajdzic] We will continue to discuss that issue tomorrow. You must understand that in light of our past experience, I speak with slight reservations about global and final solutions. I can tell you that my impression is that there is a great deal of goodwill on both sides and that is a good start.

[Correspondent] The issue of sea access was raised and will continue to be discussed. Croatia's positions on this issue are firm. Reference is being made to the lines of demarcation within a union of the Bosnia-Herzegovina republics.

[Granic] Some progress has been made with regard to humanitarian issues. Talks about all other issues will resume tomorrow.

[Correspondent] The atmosphere at the talks reflects the difficult situation in the field, where Muslims cannot benefit any further from continuing their war against the Croats. Although all issues were touched upon today, a general agreement is no nearer.

[Granic] This is a preparatory meeting before Geneva, even much more in view of the situation in central Bosnia.

[Silajdzic] The atmosphere can be described as constructive. Today we discussed humanitarian convoys, and I think we agreed to hold a meeting shortly to agree on continuing sending fresh convoys, desperately awaited by the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We also discussed Mostar. We, of course, agreed that the European Union would administer Mostar over two years or even less, depending on what we agree. I can also say that I am very pleased with the fact that both sides accept the idea of Mostar for the people of Mostar [Mostar Mostarcima], in other words the return of all the people of Mostar to their town. [end recording]

Croatians accept this idea of Mostar's status, providing it implies the departure of those who are not from Mostar, who came from elsewhere, of Muslim newcomers. Negotiations in Vienna are continuing.

Silajdzic Interviewed on Situation

AU0401214594 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2104 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Elmar Oberhauser in Vienna; Silajdzic speaks in Serbo-Croation with simultaneous German translation—live]

[Text] [Oberhauser] I welcome Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic here in our studio. Good evening.

[Silajdzic] Good evening.

[Oberhauser] Mr. Silajdzic, there is probably no sensible person who understands this war in your country, which has, as we have heard, claimed 140,000 lives and has brought incredible suffering, above all to the civilian population. Do you understand it?

[Silajdzic] Yes, absolutely. It is the result of the expansionist policy by the Belgrade government and the passivity of the international community. You have just seen [in a previous report] the scenes in Sarajevo. This has been going on for two years in Sarajevo, but also in other towns, such as Vukovar, where it started. The international community has not only done nothing, but has prohibited our defending ourselves. With that the international community has condemned Bosnia to death. I think this has to come to an end.

There are only two solutions: Either the international community intervenes—this time on our side and not on the side of the aggressor, because we have an embargo on military equipment—or it will permit us to defend ourselves.

[Oberhauser] Mr. Prime Minister, I do not want to—and I cannot do it, anyway—play arbiter here, but do you not make things a bit too easy for yourself? Even though this embargo exists, your soldiers are advancing and are involved in the fighting pretty heavily.

[Silajdzic] We have light military equipment and the things that we have assembled ourselves. It is a shame for Europe that we are forced to fight against hundreds of tanks with weapons that we have made ourselves. We are advancing because we are defending our very lives. This is a question of life or death for us.

[Oberhauser] This intervention from outside that you have just mentioned—is this the only possibility to put an end to the war?

[Silajdzic] The international community must respect its own resolutions and the basic principles of the civilized world. According to these, it must either intervene or permit us to defend ourselves. Our hands are tied. If no diplomatic solution can be found, only these two solutions are left.

[Oberhauser] If this is true, Mr. Prime Minister, what is then the point of negotiations, such as the ones that are currently being held in Vienna? I do not even know how many have already been held.

[Silajdzic] These are talks between Bosnia and Croatia, between the Bosnians and the Croats. They are currently in conflict, but they are in conflict because the international community has not stopped the aggression against Bosnia. This is one result of the aggression.

[Oberhauser] What do you expect of the Vienna talks? What can the results be?

[Silajdzic] Today we talked about humanitarian issues; we have already made some progress in this field. Today we also discussed the status of the town of Mostar, and I can tell you with joy that we have come to an agreement, that the Croatian side is also supporting the project of giving Mostar to the inhabitants of Mostar. This means that all those who have been driven away from Mostar may return to Mostar. This means that this is a victory of civilization over barbarism. Those who destroyed the Old Bridge do not belong there. Unfortunately, many will not return because they are dead. The least we can do as a debt to our civilization is to bring the people in this town back to their houses.

[Oberhauser] No matter how much we discuss tactical issues here, I do not assume that we would make any progress in this respect. Let us talk a bit about the people in your country. You have talked about humanitarian aid. In the West, we have heard that hundreds of thousands are threatened with death this winter, because they will starve or freeze. Is there a possibility to help these people? What is the situation?

[Silajdzic] There are possibilities. In Geneva we have agreed that humanitarian goods may pass. The UN forces have also been given the mandate to fight against those who stop these convoys. This mandate is not being exercised. Therefore, the convoys do not get through or they arrive too late. The entire problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the attempt to stop the aggression with words.

[Oberhauser] Does that mean that the UN soldiers in your country do not fulfill their task? Do you mean that?

[Silajdzic] I think they have not been given any orders at all.

[Oberhauser] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for being our guest. I hope that, despite the hopelessness that is conveyed by your words, at some time in the future it will be possible to put an end to this madness. Shortly before we started our talk, I received a press agency report saying that French Defense Minister Leotard today came out in favor of U.S. intervention in the Balkans. He wants to present this wish at the NATO summit in Brussels next week. Would you welcome that?

[Silajdzic] It means that Europe's conscience is not completely dead.

[Oberhauser] Once again, thank you and I hope that your people will soon have the situation that they desire. Thank you.

Croatians Plan 'Important' Announcement

AU0501111094 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Vienna, Jan 5 (AFP)—The Croatian delegation at bilateral talks here with Bosnian leaders said an "important" announcement would be made at midday, as talks resumed after failing to reach a cease-fire agreement Tuesday [4 January]. The Croat delegation said the announcement would be made at noon (1100 GMT), on the second day of discussions in the old imperial palace at Hofburg. The talks were expected to focus on a ceasefire, internal borders and access to the sea for the Bosnian Moslems.

The Vienna-based U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Victor Jakovich, was at Wednesday's opening of the talks, but the international mediators Lord Owen for the European Community and Thorvald Stoltenberg for the UN, who attended on Tuesday, were not present.

The two delegation chiefs, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, both described their discussions on Tuesday afternoon as "constructive." They said "real progress" had been made on the passage of humanitarian convoys and prisoner swaps.

Silajdzic also said he was "encouraged" by a Craotian pledge supported Bosnian proposals to allow residents of Mostar, a southern Bosnian city hit hard by the ethnic conflict, to return home. The talks here follow a recent escalation of fighting between mainly Moslem Bosnian and Bosnian Croat forces in central Bosnia.

Granic Denies Troop Charges

AU0501115494 Paris AFP in English 1130 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] London, Jan 5 (AFP)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic on Wednesday [5 January] denied assertions by EC mediator David Owen that regular Croatian troops were stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but acknowledged the presence of "volunteers." "There are some volunteers from Croatia, definitely, but not regular Croatian forces," Granic told BBC Radio.

Owen, in a Channel 4 Television interview to be aired Wednesday night, said, "We all know there is as I speak a very substantial element of the Croatian army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, very substantial.

"And I must say that I think it's an issue that the world ought to address more strongly," Owen said. "They addressed it in terms of the Serbs in the spring of 1992 with very considerable strength of purpose, but they have to a great extent ignored it in the last six months as it's built up."

Owen said the EC view was "obviously influenced" by Germany and "other friends of Croatia like Austria in the United Nations, Hungary and others, and the United States".

"The general feeling," he said, "has been that it is better to make representations to (Croatian) President (Franjo) Tudjman and to criticize and to argue rather than to take action in terms of sanctions against Croatia."

Croatia has always denied it has regular troops stationed in Bosnia, although Tudjman on December 30 warned he would intervene on the side of Bosnian Croats who, he said, faced "aggression" by the Moslem-dominated Bosnian army.

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic meanwhile Wednesday denied the existence of a Bosnian offensive against Croat enclaves, telling BBC Radio, "The Bosnian Army is on Bosnian soil, there is no doubt about it. That is not an offensive."

UN Commander Asks To Be Relieved of Duties

LD0401163394 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1600 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Excerpt] General Briquemont, commander of the Blue Helmets in Bosnia, who criticized UN policy in the former Yugoslavia last week, has asked to be relieved of his duties. The Belgian defense minister has denied that pressure was put on him following his statements last week. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Agrees

AU0401181494 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 4 (AFP)—The Sarajevo-based Belgian general in charge of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to be withdrawn, Brussels said Tuesday, amid outspoken complaints by him and other top peacekeepers over their powerlessness to intervene in the war. Lieutenant-General Francis Briquemont was due to end his term as military commander in Bosnia in July but Belgium said Tuesday it wanted to recall him, a move that was immediately condemned by a top Bosnian government official.

A Belgian defence ministry official said Briquemont had agreed to return and would resume a post in his country's forces in Germany after leaving Bosnia before the end of January.

In New York, a spokesman for UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said the UN would not be perturbed by Briquemont's early departure from his post. "If he wants to be relieved, he will be relieved," said Ahmad Fawzi. Briquemont was in Zagreb on a visit and did not comment on his plans.

Briquemont has been increasingly critical of the UN's inability to protect civilians and stop attacks on aid convoys, a point echoed by the UN Commander in the former Yugoslavia General Jean Cot, who complained Monday of humiliations suffered by international peacekeepers. Cot also said that UN troops were ready for an "offensive intervention" in Bosnia.

Ejup Ganic, the number two to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, said Belgium's decision showed that the international community was not taking the crisis in his country seriously. Ganic said that personally he felt that as soon as a UN military official got to grips with the situation, he was replaced.

French General Philippe Morillon, Briquemont's predecessor, was also recalled and had also been outspoken in his criticism of the inadequacy of international intervention in the stricken country.

Briquemont recently demanded reinforcement of the 12,000 strong UN Protection Force contingent in Bosnia and said that he no longer bothered to read unheeded UN resolutions on the civil war.

Ganic hinted that the recall might be to do with his criticisms of a peace plan dividing the country. He noted that Briquemont, like Morillon, had expressed the view that the partition of the country between the three warring groups was not a solution.

Belgian diplomats said they hoped that Briquemont's replacement would also be Belgian but the appointment rests in the hands of Butrus-Ghali. [passage omitted]

Peace Negotiations To Resume in Geneva 18 Jan

AU0401152494 Paris AFP in English 1450 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Geneva, Jan 4 (AFP)—Bosnian peace negotiations will resume on January 18 in Geneva, three days later than expected, UN spokeswoman Therese Gastaut announced Tuesday. She said the talks were put back at the request of Geneva security officials.

Geneva police will be mobilized on January 15 and 16 because of the scheduled summit there between U.S. President Bill Clinton and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to try to further efforts to reach an Arab-Israeli peace.

The Bosnian peace talks will be held with leaders from the republic's three warring factions—Moslems, Croats and Serbs—as well as the presidents of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro. The peace talks broke off on December 23 amid Bosnian Moslem demands for more land concessions.

Bilateral Bosnian-Croatian talks were held Tuesday in Vienna between Bosnia's Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Croatia's Foreign Minister Mate Granic in the presence of mediators of the international peace conference on ex-Yugoslavia, Lord Owen for the European Community and Thorvald Stoltenberg for the United Nations.

The two said as they entered talks they hoped to reach a ceasefire agreement, amid a rise in fighting between Moslem and Croat troops in central Bosnia.

Visegrad Group Discusses Talks With Clinton

LD0401145394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The highest representatives of the Visegrad Group are to meet U.S. President Bill Clinton in Prague. Experts from the ministries of foreign affairs of the four today concluded all the arrangements for the event in the capital of the Czech Republic. Defense ministers of the Visegrad Group will meet in Warsaw on Friday. There will be no more higher level consultations before the Prague meeting with Clinton.

Budapest had different ideas about the preparations for the U.S.-Visegrad summit, but acknowledged the will of the Czech hosts. On the line from Budapest is our reporter Gregor Martin Papucsek with more details:

[Papucsek] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and his Polish counterpart, Lech Walesa, jointly proposed to Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus during the funeral of Jozsef Antall in Budapest that the states of the Visegrad Group coordinate their positions before meeting Bill Clinton. However, Budapest now notes with a degree of regret that Prague refused to form a joint platform. Observers point to the fact that Czech politics views Visegrad cooperation rather skeptically and decisively rejects all attempts which may lead to institutionalizing Visegrad Group activity.

It is also observed in Budapest that the Czech representatives have tried from the beginning to emphasize the Czech-U.S. bilateral features of Bill Clinton's visit to Prague. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Official Comments

LD0401223394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Only bilateral meetings will take place at the Prague meeting of the Visegrad countries heads of states and the American President. Ivan Baba, deputy foreign affairs state secretary, said regarding his talks in the Czech Republic today that the Visegrad countries did not form a joint position prior to the meeting. Peter Nyaradi reports from Prague.

[Nyaradi] Today's meeting had more of a technical than political nature, Ivan Baba, deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, said in Prague. [passage omitted]

After meeting Clinton, the Hungarian delegation will separate into three parties and everybody will meet their Czech counterpart; that is, Arpad Goncz will meet President Havel in the castle, Peter Boross will meet Prime Minister Klaus in the government residency, and Geza Jeszenszky will get together with Czech Foreign Minister Zieleniec in the ministry. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question from Hungarian Radio on whether there is any chance for political coordination of any kind between the leaders of the Visegrad four, and whether they were able to agree about this today, Ivan Baba said the following:

[Begin Baba recording] No agreement was reached about political coordination. We agreed that they will (?try) to coordinate their positions on [words indistinct] channels about individual questions, and we already know that there will be a meeting of defense ministers in Warsaw on 7 January. This can also be considered as some kind of coordination. [end recording]

Security Arrangements for Clinton Visit Reported

LD0401183594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The security of the Visegrad Four meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton will be provided by 3,000 policemen in Prague. According to Interior Ministry Spokesman Jan Subrt, these will be the most extensive security arrangements on the territory of the Czech Republic since 17 November 1989. According to Jan Subrt, over 200 U.S. citizens will take part in the security of Bill Clinton in Prague. The Czech police, however, will assume overall responsibility for the security of all five presidents. Jan Subrt said that the rapid deployment, antiterrorist, and other crack units of the special police forces will take part in the security arrangements. Police helicopters will participate in the action and the river police unit with divers will be on the alert in connection with the proposed walkabout by Bill Clinton on Charles Bridge.

[Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech at 1700 GMT on 4 January adds that "the police have asked Prague citizens to show understanding for certain indispensable restrictions in connection with the extensive security arrangements accompanying U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit in Prague. The police recommend that citizens living in houses along the transit routes not open any windows when the presidential cavalcade passes by. The police will inform citizens of specific houses in good time.

["Interior Ministry Press Spokesman Jan Subrt emphasized that the security situation in the Czech Republic is regarded by the U.S. side as stable and it is thought that the Prague meeting will pass without incident."]

Semtex Producer Warns of Foreign Duplication

AU0401154394 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Dec 93 p 3

["(lek)"-signed report: "Semtex Is Being Secretly Duplicated Abroad, Claims Synthesia"]

[Text] Pardubice—A plastic explosive labelled Semtex, which is turning up all over the world, may not be the genuine product of the Synthesia Pardubice Company, but could—according to Synthesia Spokesman Gregor Vavrina—originate from some clandestine foreign producers.

According to the spokesman, Synthesia has information that such an explosive—based on a formula similar to Semtex—has plainly been manufactured abroad for several years. So far, however, the Pardubice company has been unable to obtain a sample of the so-called Semtex, which is apparently very similar to the original and has similar characteristics. Synthesia was the first company in the world to make its plastic explosives easy to detect in accordance with the 1991 international convention adopted within the framework of the struggle against terrorism. The export of Semtex was halted in 1989. Last year, Synthesia exported several dozen tonnes to Kuwait, where it was used to clear mine fields and destroy unexploded shells.

This November, Synthesia offered those countries to which it used to export Semtex the possibility of making the explosive detectable or, as the case many be, of destroying it free of charge if it was unsuitable for reprocessing. So far, according to the spokesman, no one has responded to this offer.

Fur, Foreign Ministry React to U.S. Proposal

LD0401194094 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] A great stir was created by President's Clinton's alleged proposal yesterday that the armies of Hungary and the other east-central European countries should carry out their international military cooperation within the framework of the so-called Partnership for Peace movement, and for the time being they should not consider NATO as their future partner. "Newsreel" first asked the opinion of [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur.

[Begin Fur recording] A very important statement has been attributed to President Clinton: NATO does not need Hungary and the other east-central European countries. However, it is my conviction that this is only a temporary political view. Sooner or later Western Europe and the Atlantic countries must realize that without creating and guaranteeing the security of east-central Europe it is impossible to create general European security. [end recording]

Does the Foreign Ministry consider the announcement official?

[Begin recording] [Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman] No, it is clear from news agency reports that this is a newspaper's opinion. The United States has never said recently that admission of this region's countries to NATO is expected in the near future. It is obvious that this is a process and that within this process, the NATO summit on 10 January in Brussels is going to be a very important event.

We expect that the NATO summit will make it unequivocal: The North Atlantic Alliance is an open organization, so the countries that meet the requirements, in perspective, may become members of the organization. A new initiative, the Partnership for Peace program, has come about. We expect that the NATO summit will open up and make this program accessible. Hungary accepts the Partnership for Peace initiative and strives to fill it with real content.

[Unidentified correspondent] However, the Partnership for Peace means a lot less than the possible membership.

[Herman] Yes, it means less. We can clearly see that it does not quite meet the expectations prevailing in the region and also in Hungary. However, it is a step in the right direction, and an important step at that, and we have no reason for not hoping that other steps will follow in the future. [end recording]

Secret Service 'Expert' on Intelligence Issues

AU0301172994 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Dec 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with unnamed expert close to the secret service by Attila Schmidt; place and date not given: "Who Is a Spy And Who Is Not—Even the CIA Was Unable To Look Into the Files of Our Agents"]

[Text] Spying is one of the most ancient occupations. It was originally called reconnaissance, and this name is still used because the military secret services like to call themselves reconnaissance units. The difference between intelligence [hirszerzes] and reconnaissance [felderites] in the classical sense is that reconnaissance is mainly the visual acquisition of information while intelligence is infiltrating enemy organizations through agents and technical means, said an expert who claims to be close to the secret service but who did not wish to name himself, when we interviewed him on this special activity.

[Schmidt] What is the correct term, intelligence or spying?

[Expert] This depends on the angle of the view. Throughout the world, every secret service calls its offensive body an intelligence service while the enemy's is a spy organization. When we are doing it, we are gathering information, and when the enemy does it, it is spying.

[Schmidt] Do all countries maintain an intelligence service?

[Expert] All states that consider themselves worth anything use intelligence agents, because it is a vital interest of all powers to learn about the political, economic, and military secrets of their enemies. However, the medium and small countries only maintain military reconnaissance or intelligence, but the activities of these also extend to civil areas. Naturally, the situation is different in the case of a superpower like the United States. Here, in addition to the CIA, all branches of the military practice active intelligence work.

[Schmidt] Does the Hungarian secret service operate in both directions?

[Expert] Yes, the two organizations are called the military and the civil information offices.

[Schmidt] Can it be expected that, after the new elections, the personnel of the secret service or the direction of reconnaissance will change?

[Expert] Fundamental changes will probably not take place after the change of the government, although it cannot be excluded that some of the leaders will be replaced, which is certainly not a sensible thing to do. Intelligence should be treated as a professional, rather than a political, organization.

[Schmidt] Was the intelligence service also "decimated" after the change of the regime?

[Expert] Some experienced intelligence agents were removed from their positions, but the clear-out was not as big as at the National Security Office.

[Schmidt] Have the directions of intelligence work changed?

[Expert] Essentially, they have. The former enemy turned into a friend and the former friend has turned into a suspicious country that is to be observed. Therefore, everything has to be done the same way as before, only in different directions.

[Schmidt] Do the friends spy on each other?

[Expert] Friendship and the hunger for information are two different things. Although we and many other countries have rather good relations with the United States, the CIA, as a global intelligence service, is active in all parts of the world, including Hungary.

[Schmidt] Are all military attaches intelligence agents at the same time?

[Expert] At any rate, it is the task of all military attaches to learn as much as possible about the army and the military secrets of the receiving country. For this reason, out of politeness, the receiving countries invite them to military exercises where they can learn about the armament, equipment, and certain secrets of the army. This is done on a reciprocal basis. The goal of this can be disinformation.

[Schmidt] What does "dark" information gathering mean?

[Expert] When for example an intelligence agent "disguised" as a diplomat gets to know some important person in the receiving country and acquires information from him in the course of a conversation, without the person knowing that he is giving information to a spy.

[Schmidt] Does the intelligence service recruit its agents through pressure?

[Expert] Yes and no. It is best if, for some reason, the chosen candidate voluntarily accepts to cooperate.

[Schmidt] How much money is normally given to an agent?

[Expert] This depends on the agent. It mainly depends on the financial and work position of the person. If someone earns $100,000 then he cannot be given $5,000. The amount has to be proportionate to the value of the information and the level of risk.

[Schmidt] After the change of the regime, did the CIA receive the list of our agents working abroad?

[Expert] Naturally, it did not. A single ill-considered step like this could mean the end of the intelligence service. The United States understood this and only asked for the material that we had given to the KGB. We did not fulfill this request, either, because they could have derived the names of the agents on the basis of this.

[Schmidt] Did the KGB conduct intelligence work against us?

[Expert] I am certain that it did not, because we did not have any secrets from them, all data was officially open to them. To prove that they did not have any agents here, when the Soviet troop withdrawals began from Hungary, we received many indications that they were hastily trying to meet this need. They were trying to enlist people. Probably without much success.

[Schmidt] Have you ever been approached?

[Expert] I have, a number of times. It was an interesting case when I was trying to enlist a South American diplomat and, during the conversation, it became clear that he had also met me in the very elegant restaurant with the intent of enlisting me....

National Bank Issues Report on Money in 1993

WS0401153094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 94 pp 1, 10

[Report by Pawel Jablonski: "Inflation Still Dangerous"]

[Text] The National Bank of Poland [NBP] has prepared another "Report on the Condition of Money"; this time the report is devoted to the situation in 1993. The authors of this report attempted to evaluate the way money is fulfilling its fundamental function: the function of a measure of value. A lot of attention was given to inflation as a process that restricts purchasing power. In 1993, it was possible to limit inflation quite considerably; however, it is still high and the sources that cause it have not disappeared.

The main factor that increases inflation, on the side of demand, is the persistently large budget deficit. As a result of the need to service this debt, instead of extending credits to companies, banks are loaning money to the budget, which offers high interest rates. This, in turn, has brought on higher interest rates for credits to companies.

The growth of wage levels also contributed to the fact that demand inflation lingered on. In the costs of obtaining incomes, the share of wages increased from 11.3 percent in 1991 to 11.5 percent in 1992, and to 12 percent in the first six months of 1993.

The factors that are the main sources of cost-induced inflation are increases in prices regulated by the government—prices that are raised until they reach world levels, or until they reach the level corresponding to the costs of production or maintenance (apartment rents). It is estimated that the 23-percent price increase in the first three quarters of 1993 was caused, in at least 67 percent of the cases, by cost-and-price impulses brought on by government's decisions. In addition, the creeping devaluation of the zloty is a constant cost impulse. Costs also increased as a result of the fixed devaluation of the zloty in August. Moreover, higher inflation was the result of the raising of the turnover tax and the introduction of the VAT.

NBP believes that despite stabilization measures, there is a danger that inflation may increase. This becomes particularly clear if we collate the indicators of the growth of prices for consumption goods and services after the first three quarters of 1993 (23 percent) and the indicators of the prices for industrial production (26.4 percent). Therefore, there may be a pressure that retail prices be raised, which in turn, if financial policy is slack, may bring about higher inflation.

At this point, the NBP elaboration needs to be supplemented. Last November, inflation increased by 4 percent; in December the indicator will certainly be even higher.

Combating inflation only through a sharper financial policy, without coordinating it with fiscal and budget policies, may yield no results. In line with NBP evaluations, in the present conflict between fiscal and financial policies, the goals of the former seem to dominate, which is favorable in terms of stimulating inflation.

Fluidity

In the first ten months of last year, the money supply increased by 22.6 percent. This means that in real terms, in 1993 the supply of money decreased. It achieved the lowest level in May and June, which was related to the low increase of cash money. This year, the share of cash money as a percentage of the overall money supply gradually decreased. In December 1992 it constituted 21 percent; last August—18.9 percent. However, this is not a result of a relative decrease in the importance of cash money in the economy, but a result of an increase of the role of other components of the money supply, primarily foreign currency deposits. Their share in the money supply increased from December 1992 to October 1993 by 3.81 percent—to 28.56 percent. This was only partially caused by the fixed devaluation.

To regulate the money supply, the central bank employed several instruments: obligatory reserve rates, open market operations, and interest rates. The short-term fluidity of the banking sector was steered by means of open market operations. However, it was first of all Treasury bonds that helped absorb the fluidity. By determining interest rates, NBP defined its expectations concerning inflation and exerted influence on the interest rates offered by deposit-and-credit banks. Actually, a policy of positive interest rates was implemented all year, which was supposed to encourage people to save their money, especially in zloty accounts. There is a close relationship between the rates of the Central Bank and commercial banks as far as interest rates on deposits are concerned. The interests on one-year deposits were actually set at the level of refinanced credits. However, the interest rates on credits, even though the Central Bank rates have not changed since February, dropped from 41 percent in March to 39 percent in November of last year. The interest rate of pawn credits is the price of the credit which NBP can extend for a short period of time to banks in lien on securities.

In the first months of last year, the rate of this credit started to deviate clearly from the interest rate on inter-bank deposits, which is the market price of money. Nevertheless, from July the levels of these rates started to draw closer to one another, which, according to NBP, proves that the inter-bank market is functioning better.

Between the Zloty and the Dollar

Last year the structure of saving changed in households. Apart from the growth of foreign currency deposits from 41.8 percent in December 1992 to 48.1 percent in October last year, we saw a decrease in the share of fixed-time deposits in the overall value of savings kept in banks, from 80.3 percent in December 1992 to 75.3 percent last October. In the first six months of last year

this share was at one level—81.6-81.2 percent. It started to drop in July and became more rapid in September.

According to NBP, last year the form of saving money changed. In 1992 the increase of zloty savings of households was, in real terms, twice as big as the increase of foreign currency changes; in the nine months there was quite a different trend—this year the real increase in savings was first of all the result of an increase in foreign currency deposits.

Stock Exchange As a Competitor for Banks

The last year is associated with the stock exchange. The exchange rates of stocks, measured with the Warsaw Stock Exchange Index, increased 1,200 percent. Some of the funds invested in the stock exchange come from bank deposits, as a result of which the increase in depositing money in the banks was curbed. Another source of the funds were bank credits, including consumption credits. However, analyses show that the role of bank credits is not significant.

In the past few years, we have noted increasingly more cases of Polish banknotes being forged. In 1991 the number of revealed forgeries was twice as large as in 1990. In 1992, it was eight times as big. Also in the first eight months of last year, we noted eight times as many cases as in all of 1992. One of the reasons for such an increase in the number of forgeries is the fact that the zloty became the money desired by foreigners, especially those from the former Soviet Union.

Difficulties for Ex-RFE Employees Reported

AU0401161194 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Dec 93-2 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Weronika Kostyrko: "The End of RFE?"]

[Text] All the employees in Radio Free Europe's [RFE] Polish section received layoff notices toward the end of December. The section is to be moved from Munich to Warsaw in the spring. "We have nothing to go back to," say the radio employees, to whom the closure of the Munich station is a "betrayal by the Americans" and a "shock." The U.S. Government intends to close down RFE's Munich facility, which has existed since 1952. The Afghan section's electricity supply has already been cut off, and the Hungarian section was closed down on 1 November.

The Polish and Czech sections will move to their respective countries, but will continue to be maintained by the U.S. Congress until September 1995. Then they will be privatized. Radio Liberty, serving the former USSR republics, plus the RFE Slovak, Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, and Croatian sections, will be moved to Washington or Prague.

"The people here lived like in a ghetto," the Polish employees told me. "They spent most of their time inside the station itself, and lived in communal apartment blocks. Many of them never learned German. We have nothing to go back to in Poland."

"We hoped that the putsch in Moscow would save us," one of the employees added.

Half of RFE's 1,500 employees will lose their jobs as a result of the reorganization. The Poles, almost 100 of them, will be paid until June. But the Warsaw Bureau will only have 15 posts. RFE's Warsaw Bureau, operational since 1990, already prepares 80 percent of the material on Poland. The Warsaw staff are younger, and are not burdened by any emigre past. Their work style is also different—they report from the streets and interview left-wing politicians, something which RFE veterans frown upon.

"The competition for jobs in Warsaw is open to everyone, but will someone who spent years broadcasting from behind a desk ever go into the Sejm with a microphone?" wonders a young reporter from RFE's Warsaw bureau.

"RFE's mission was a kind of slow suicide," Jan Nowak-Jezioranski [distinguished author] wrote one year ago. "Its mission was to regain the freedom of the media in Poland, in other words bring about a situation where Western radio ceased to be necessary." According to the latest surveys, only 2 percent of the Polish population listens to RFE.

Union Leader Requests Coalition Government

AU0401172294 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 30 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Victor Ciorbea, president of the National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions-Fratia, by Liana B. Iacob; place and date not given: "The Unions Cannot Accept a Government of the Left Extreme That Is Being Prepared Now!"]

[Text] [Iacob] As a result of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] initiative, according to the statement made by [PUNR Chairman Gheorghe] Funar, the trade unions should expect to be invited to participate directly in the establishment of a political and social pact. What is your opinion regarding this issue?

[Ciorbea] For the time being, we are expecting a special invitation addressed to us, after which, together with Alfa [trade union confederation] and the BNS [National Trade Union Bloc], we will establish whether we will attend those discussions jointly or rather separately. In case we are really invited, we will adopt the same stance as before, because in our assessment the situation has remained unchanged. The trade unions will not give up the idea of a real coalition government set up with the participation of the parties that are members of the democratic opposition. Otherwise we see no way in which a social pact could be achieved and we are not prepared to conclude such a pact with the current government. Unfortunately, for the time being, all that may be expected is merely a government reshuffle. However, the trade unions cannot accept a government of the extreme left that is being prepared now! Under such circumstances, I do not believe that another round of talks could be held with the unions.

[Iacob] Do you intend to go on with your plan for the month of January, referring to the continuation of the union struggle by means of strikes, even if Cotroceni [the presidency] invites you to sign a social pact?

[Ciorbea] Yes, our plan remains valid, and I would like to emphasize the fact that union solidarity is stronger than ever, despite all contrary rumors and despite the alleged diminishing of the tension at the basis of the unions. A reshuffled government, with a significant shift to the left and authoritarian tendencies makes the entire reform process and even democracy quite questionable, and therefore we cannot accept a compromise with such grave consequences. We continue to consult with the parties belonging to the democratic opposition and we reassert the need for their authentic participation in the governing of the country, and not merely by the participation of a number of their representatives who would receive decorative offices.

[Iacob] Should a coalition government be set up, are the leaders of the large trade union confederations prepared to personally participate in the government?

[Ciorbea] Under such circumstances it is possible that some of the union leaders would accept to participate in the government if they are asked to, and considering their experience achieved in the union movement, they might prove to be more efficient on the other side of the barricade as well. Personally, I haven't considered my joining the government, as I believe that there is still a great deal of work for me to do here, in the union movement.

Editorial Views Country's Image, Status

AU0401181694 Bucharest EXPRES MAGAZIN No. 51 in Romanian 29 Dec 93-5 Jan 94 p 32

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "Romania's Status in the World at the End of 1993"]

[Text] Those who follow the international press and television were able to note that, of late, a true campaign has begun to present Romania as the country with the greatest number of difficult problems in Eastern Europe. Ever since the beginning of December, the big dailies and news agencies in the intensively developed countries placed particular emphasis on the antigovernment and antipresidential demonstrations organized in Bucharest and throughout the country by the trade unions and students organizations. All press items and television broadcasts mentioned the fact that these were the most widespread people's demonstrations in the wake of December 1989. Western investors, who form their opinion about a country from newspapers and television programs, probably had the impression of a social-politically instable Romania that is shaken by social unrest. Thus it is clear that no investor will be tempted to invest his money in a country that is more unstable than quicksand. The anniversary of the Romanian revolution was an opportunity for the international press and television to review the road covered by Romania so far. Catastrophic, to say the least, was the conclusion drawn by all press reportages and television programs devoted to this inventory. From the United States to Japan, readers were reminded that Romania is the only country in the East where the communists are still in power and that Romania is a country led by extreme nationalists, even fascists. Now, at the end of the year, Western reporters deemed it fit to deal again with Romania. The image one gets from Western television reportage is that of a backward country that has been unable to break away not only from communism, but not even from Ceausism [Ceausescu-type of system]. The European television channel Euro-News last week broadcast two singularly violent reportages devoted to Romania. First, they dwelled on the absolute poverty prevailing in the country. Second, on the nostalgia regarding Nicolae Ceausescu. Other reputed television channels also carried programs devoted to Romania. CNN, for instance, carried a brief reportage on HIV-positive children in Romania, who are spending their last days in the misery of local hospitals. The French TV5 Channel dealt with the street children. The images broadcast by CNN,

Euro-News, and TV5 to the world are strikingly reminiscent of the images broadcast by international television channels immediately after the December 1989 revolution. It goes without saying that now, at the end of 1993, Romania's image in the world, an image created by the international press and television, is as poor as that of 1990.

The violent campaign against Romania may be surprising up to a point. Within the inventory made regarding 1993, the presidency and government boasted about great international achievements: the granting of most-favored-nation status, the accord with the IMF, and the admission to the Council of Europe. More surprising than ever before, President Ion Iliescu assured us that Romania's isolation has come to an end. The position of the international press and television is also shocking because of the way they report on actual reality. No matter how critically we viewed Iliescu's regime, a regime that has been in power in Romania since December 1989, we cannot say that nothing has changed on the sociopolitical or economic levels. At least from a legal point of view, the foundation was laid for a pluralist system, there is freedom of expression, and the market economy has begun to take shape. It is clear that the television programs and press articles devoted to Romania do not bear this in mind. Portraying Romania in black colors is also slightly strange from another point of view. For more than a year now, the government and presidency have been talking about the tremendous political and financial efforts to improve our country's image in the world. Tremendous sums of U.S. dollars have been spent on publicity in reputable dailies and weeklies. Each Romanian in the Diaspora is being courted infinitely. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that all our embassies have made it their aim to present the true situation in our country.

The surprising nature of Romania's disastrous image in the world is only apparent. In actual fact, the poor portrayal of our country in the Western press and television is perfectly explicable. It represent the effect of a situation that was specific to Romania after the December 1989 revolution. The period that followed the Romanian revolution was a period of disappointment throughout the world. I am not talking of the fact that the former party activist, Ion Iliescu, is at the helm of the country. In other countries, which belonged to the communist camp, power was also taken over by former communists. They, however, manifested themselves from the very beginning as firm advocates of political pluralism, democracy, and market economy. Admitting publicly that they had been communists, they proved that the long experience of dictatorship convinced them of the failure of implementing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Ion Iliescu and his cronies did not do the same. For a long time, the current president acted as a tardy perestroykist. In his statements in 1990 he pleaded for communism with a human face. This public support for communism was coupled by a number of political actions, which were clearly at variance with democratic principles. I am talking of the famous miners' incursions, which attempted to eliminate the opposition and the independent press by means of armed civilians. By and by, the international press formed the image of a Ion Iliescu full of communist nostalgia.

Public opinion throughout the world was convinced of this on the basis of the articles and televised reportage devoted to the violation of the principles of democracy in Romania after December 1989. Unfortunately for Ion Iliescu, the history of Russia and of the Eastern countries took a different course than the one desired by him. In Russia, the former activist Boris Yeltsin proceeded to radical democratic reforms and the market economy. All the countries, which used to belong to communism, firmly embarked on the road to a market economy. Had Gorbachev not fallen, had Russia not embarked on the road to democracy, and had the communist regimes in China and Cuba not declared the bankruptcy of the centralized economy, Ion Iliescu would probably have advocated the cause of communism with a human face. Left all by himself in Eastern Europe, slowly, slowly the president worked toward a substantial change in his political platform. Under domestic and international pressure, he declared to be the advocate of democratic reform. Firmly influenced also by the former FSN [National Salvation Front] reformist grouping, he had to accept, albeit reluctantly, the radical measures in the direction of proceeding to a market economy. Consequently, pluralism and a free market began to take shape in Romania. The press, however, works with general images, in general terms. It has to constantly bear in mind the already existing opinion of its readers. Thus, when it came to Ion Iliescu and realities in Romania, the international press and television were subject to this very law. The president's and our country's image is that formed in the wake of the 1989 revolution. That is the image of a neocommunist president who is leading a country immobilized by its obsolete structures. To alter this image is a very difficult thing. For this to happen, the international press would have to assume numerous risks, including that of contradicting its readers. Consequently, foreign reporters come to Romania with an image they formed in 1990. Here, however, they find a much more pronounced reality. It is difficult and practically impossible for them to reflect these nuances in their reporting. This is why they seek elements in Romania's reality today that will confirm their preconceived image. Hence the contradiction between the reportages devoted to Romania of late and the reality of our sociopolitical situation, including the president's conduct. It is useless to talk about how harmful this perception of our country in the world is. As I have said before, the former communist countries are involved in a fierce competition in order to attract foreign capital and to occupy a place in the forefront in the world today. This period following the collapse of communism is decisive for the place of a former communist country in the world hierarchy. The big European and worldwide games are taking place now. This is tellingly proven by the question regarding the East European countries' entry into

NATO. All East and Central European countries want guarantees on the part of the most powerful military treaty in the present-day world regarding possible expansionist attempts by Moscow. Obtaining such guarantees is, for each country that used to belong to the communist camp, a matter of national interest. The position of the West toward this desire of the East European countries is being established, however, on the basis of the image each of these states, which were formerly under Soviet occupation, enjoy in the world. Thus it is clear that Romania's image in the international press plays a decisive role in the place and role attributed to our country by the great powers in the Balkan area and in Europe. Naturally, there are numerous situations in which the great powers specifically bear in mind their geopolitical interests. No government of any Western country can take the liberty, however, of ignoring public opinion. No matter how important Romania would be from a geopolitical point of view, the leaders of the major powers also have to bear in mind what the public thinks about Romania. And the beliefs of the public are forged by the press and television. From this point of view, we may say that Romania's image in the international press and television profoundly harms our national interests. The West's reticence toward our entry into NATO is a sign of this harmful reality.

However, how can Romania's image in the world be changed? That is very easy. Through a radical change in the political regime, a change that through its spectacular nature would decisively influence Western public opinion. This change could be achieved, among other things, in two directions. One would be President Ion Iliescu's firm public commitment to reform and democracy. As long as the president continues, however, to flounder, to promote an ambiguous policy that is neither rightist, nor leftist, this direction will be practically impossible. Another solution would be to form a coalition government with the participation of the opposition. Given its exceptional nature, this event would capture the attention of the media throughout the world. For the international press and television this would be a real opportunity to persuade the public that something has happened in Romania. Is Cotroceni [presidency seat] aware of this requirement? Judging by the bluff represented by the initiative of consulting the parliamentary parties, it seems that the answer is no.

Sarajevo Shelling Leaves 39 Dead, 200 Wounded

AU0401200394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] According to the information of the republican Health Care Headquarters, 141,605 people have been killed and 160,000 wounded in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the war. In Sarajevo alone, 9,662 have been killed, while over 56,000 were wounded. During the Christmas cease-fire, 106 people were killed and 470 wounded. Thirty-nine people were killed and 200 wounded in Sarajevo. This is stated in the statement of the republican Health Care Headquarters. Death from starvation is threatening displaced persons and the rest of the population in Tesanj, Maglaj, Olovo, Gorazde, Mostar, Tuzla, and other cities. Therefore, it is necessary to secure powdered milk and other dairy products for these areas, as well as fresh, dried, and canned fruits, powdered eggs, meat products, and fresh and canned vegetables.

Airdrops Increased

AU0401132694 Paris AFP in English 1310 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By Victoria Stegic]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Jan 4 (AFP)—At least five people were killed and 27 others were wounded in Sarajevo Tuesday [4 January] as Bosnian Serbs pounded the Bosnian capital with heavy artillery fire, hospital officials told AFP. At midday wounded were still arriving at Sarajevo hospitals as the bombing continued.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Ray Wilkinson said the number of humanitarian airdrops over Bosnia would be increased over the next few days for psychological reasons, with about 17 planes, mainly American, taking part in the operation instead of eight. Regions which had so far failed to receive any relief goods would be targeted first, he added. [passage omitted]

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic was due to meet with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Vienna Tuesday ahead of upcoming peace negotiations in Geneva on the Bosnian conflict.

The latest deaths in Sarajevo come after 15 people died and 22 people were wounded during heavy shelling Monday in one of the worst violence in weeks, according to UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Idesbald van Biesebroeck.

On Tuesday at least six shells rained down on a building between Marsal Tito Avenue, the main street of Sarajevo's old town, and the Skenderija neighborhood where a large UNPROFOR contingent from France has been deployed. The shells fell a few hundred meters (yards) from Skenderija and the Bosnian president's offices. Shelling was also reported from other parts of the city.

Van Biesebroeck said UN military observers estimate the Serbs lobbed 203 shells on the capital Monday while predominantly Moslem government troops fired 37. Serb forces have besieged Sarajevo since April 1992. Van Biesebroek said artillery fire was also reported from Gornji Vakuf and Busovaca, central Bosnia Monday.

Bosnian Croat forces fired 20 mortars on east Mostar, the Moslem-dominated main city of southern Herzegovina, but no toll was immediately available. In eastern Bosnia, the situation was calm Monday but Bosnian Serbs prevented a humanitarian aid convoy from reaching the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Greek European Affairs Minister Theodore Pangalos meanwhile said it would be "absurd" to bomb targets in Bosnia-Herzegovina as this would only "worsen the massacre in a bid to end the atrocities." Greece, which took over the six-month rotating presidency of the European Community on January 1, was "absolutely opposed" to air strikes. "Not one but all (belligerants) would have to be bombed, which would be a rather absurd peace plan," Pangalos told Radio France International. [passage omitted]

Serbian, Croatian 'Aggression' Reported

AU0501120794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] The fifth day of the new year is marked by less intensive but continual aggression by both Bosnia-Herzegovina's neighbors. Big towns like Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, and Mostar have been the target of the aggressors' artillery. Tuzla and the area in and around Zivinice are sporadically being attacked by tanks and mortars from Mount Majevica. The general danger alarm is in force almost continuously. The situation is similar in Zenica. The (?Ustasha) aggressor in central Bosnia is trying to reach Novi Travnik but in vain. It is firing on (?Velike) [names indistinct] with howitzers, Bofors guns, and heavy [word indistinct].

Gornji Vakuf is being attacked with 82-mm and 120-mm mortars. The aggressor is regrouping around Zavidovici and carrying out provocations. Provocations are also taking place in the Seven South zone, where [word indistinct] and 120-mm mortars are being used to pound civilian targets in Sije and Mravici. In the Maglaj zone, [words indistinct] multiple rocket launchers. The Olovo-Kladanj front is unusually quiet, but the aggressor is regrouping its forces and occasionally carrying out artillery attacks.

The free zones of Brcko and Gradacac are also experiencing regular artillery provocations. In the zone of the 6th Corps, the chetniks are targeting Glavaticevo with a tank and mortars. The (?Ponikve) area is being attacked with anti-aircraft weapons.

The Ustashas are using 120-mm and 82-mm mortars in Jablanica, and anti-aircraft machine guns and 120-mm

mortars in the Neretvica valley and the free [name indistinct]. Gorazde was targeted by chetnik artillery from [name indistinct]. The enemy artillery (?attacked) the Sarajevo defense lines overnight and this morning. [words indistinct] fired from Dvor landed on Zabrdje. Sokolje, [names indistinct] were also shelled. As many as 45 mortar bombs that were fired from Dvor landed on [words indistinct].

Because of the possibility of the enemy gunners redirecting their attacks from [words indistinct] to the city center, we warn the residents of Sarajevo strictly to follow the measures envisaged for [words indistinct]. Members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have issued a statement for the citizens [words indistinct] in their houses. Therefore, we warn the citizens once again to take all necessary measures [words indistinct].

Sarajevo Radio Reports on Combat Activity

AU0401155194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] According to information from the 3d Corps press center, both aggressors [Serbian and Croatian] have intensified artillery attacks against the upper region of the Vrbas River. They also shelled the area with Maljutka missiles. The Ustashas used all artillery pieces to shell Gornji Vakuf, while they launched primitive explosive devices at Stari Vitez. Regrouping and reinforcement of Ustasha forces has been sighted in the area of Zepce. The Chetniks from Mt. Ozren are sending reinforcements to Novi Seher.

The Zvornik free territory is again under fierce artillery fire from the Serbian aggressor. Yesterday, in the course of the afternoon, the remains of the once beautiful Zaseok were destroyed with tank shells fired from Klisica and the surrounding hills. This morning, the Chetniks continued their provocations against the lines of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade. Its troops are in position and are ready to resist all attacks.

The autonomists' army continues its provocations in the Bihac region. Yesterday's attempt at an infantry breakthrough was decisively repelled by the 5th Corps units. Fikret's [Abdic] paramilitary is concentrating its forces which means that they are preparing a new offensive. Our army's defenders are ready for it.

In the Seven South Operative Group zone of responsibility, the enemy today targeted civilian targets in Maglaj and provoked the defense lines of the independent Tesanj Battalion. New forces are being brought in toward the region of Novi Seher, which means that new attacks are in preparation. What particularly worries the 120,000 citizens and refugees in the area is the lack of food, medicine, and energy.

In the Second Operative Group zone of responsibility, the Serbian aggressor has intensified artillery activity. The enemy is targeting the free territories of Doboj and Gracanica. This morning he attempted an infantry breakthrough that was decisively repelled by the 109th Doboj Brigade.

HVO, Croatian Army Shell Mostar 'Fiercely'

AU0401195594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Report by 4th Corps press center]

[Text] Today, at around 1200 the troops of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Croatian Army directed fierce mortar fire at the central parts of the city and the Mostar district of Madoljice. Three people were seriously injured as a consequence of the aggressor's activity. Today the Ustashas used 120-mm mortars to fiercely pound the demarcation lines and the residential areas in Bilo Polje, while the region of Bijelo was the target of multiple rocket launchers. The district of Blagaj was again exposed to artillery attacks perpetrated by the HVO and Croatian Army troops.

By accusing the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army of allegedly regrouping forces in the region of Blagaj—as has been reported by the Croatian media—the Ustashas are looking for an alibi for the daily shelling of this district and crimes committed against the civilian population, as well as for the attacks that they are obviously preparing to undertake against the free parts of the territory controlled by the 4th Corps forces.

Inter-Muslim Fighting Claims Casualties

LD0401232694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 4 Jan 94

[From the "Picture vs Picture" program]

[Excerpt] One of the most active Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefields is still Cazin Krajina. A correspondent of Serbian Banja Luka Television today reports about fierce internecine Muslim fighting. The news is that Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces have launched a seemingly successful counteroffensive.

[Unidentified Banja Luka TV correspondent] Following fierce attacks by artillery and infantry, members of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army today inflicted this year's first defeat on the autonomist army. In fighting that continued all last night and this morning, Alija Izetbegovic's soldiers seized all strategically important sites around Pecigrad in the municipality of Cazin, shifting their lines by 1 km toward Velika Kladusa, a town in which around 1,000 citizens of Pecigrad found shelter before the onslaught of Izetbegovic's killers today.

Internecine Muslim fighting also took place near Buzim today, where the combatants of the 5th Corps occupied the villages of Sestanovci and Marjanovici. Both sides have reported dozens of casualties. [passage omitted]

Cot: Retaliation Against Snipers Necessary

LD0501092894 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 0800 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Interview with General Jean Cot, commander in chief of the UN Protection Forces, by an unidentified correspondent on 5 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Blue Helmets have had enough: OUEST FRANCE reveals this morning that one of them, a Frenchman, killed a Serbian sniper on Christmas Day who had been terrorizing a district of Sarajevo. Listen to what General Cot had to say about this in an interview granted to Radio France Internationale this morning. The line is not very good, but his comments are important:

[Cot] One cannot retaliate with weapons as an answer to anything, but there is no doubt that the rules of our mission not only allow us to retaliate, but they demand that we retaliate. I have often repeated this to my men, when we are attacked directly and when the attacker has been identified beyond doubt. Believe me, even if we do not shout it on the rooftops every time it happens, we have retaliated on numerous occasions.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you confirm that a French Blue Helmet killed a Serbian sniper on Christmas night?

[Cot] I do not wish to give much publicity to these actions that, you will understand, must remain discreet. We have indeed, however, set up an anti-sniper device that should allow us—which already allows us—to make cowards think, those cowards who shoot at women, children, and also at soldiers [words indistinct]. I would like sniper alley—which in the end reinforces hope a little—to be called bastards alley. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Croat on Defending Croat Enclaves

LD0401195494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Muslim forces are continuing to bring in reinforcements and equipment in the Lasva Valley and are stepping up troop movements, which leads to the conclusion that a new offensive in this area is in the offing. This is reported by the Political Department of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna's defense ministry. [passage omitted]

At a news conference today, Jadranko Prlic, the prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, reiterated the demands contained in the Croatian Government's letter on the overall reassessment of relations with the Muslim leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He justified this by saying that Izetbegovic is continuing the Muslim offensive against the Croat-populated areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He stressed that the Muslim leadership has stolen from the other two peoples everything that made Bosnia-Herzegovina an internationally recognized state. All Bosnia-Herzegovina consulates in the world are purely Muslim. Mr. Prlic cited the example of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb, where all 127 employees are of Muslim nationality. The world is beginning to realize that Izetbegovic is an aggressor, not a victim. Is the evacuation of Croats from central Bosnia being planned, a foreign correspondent asked Mr. Prlic. The reply was emphatic:

[Begin Prlic recording] As I said in my introductory address, we shall defend those regions at any cost. Vitez, Busovaca, Novi Travnik, part of the Travnik municipality—the Owen-Stoltenberg plan envisages these areas as a constituent part of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Therefore, we will do all we can to defend these areas. [end recording]

We had to pay a bloody price for our alliance with the Muslims, but despite everything, we are ready to negotiate with both the Muslims and the Serbs. The international boundaries of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been clearly defined, while the internal ones depend on how large an area can be defended, Jadranko Prlic pointed out.

HDZ Committee Urges 'Peaceful Solution'

AU0501103294 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 93 p 9

[HABENA/HINA report: "Protection for the Croats Outside Herceg-Bosna"]

[Text] At the Tuesday [28 December] session in Siroki Brijeg, members of the Central Committee of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] for Bosnia-Herzegovina supported the decisions made by the HDZ Presidency on 10 December relating to changes in the statute and organizational and personnel changes in the HDZ Executive Committee. Following the speech of HDZ President Mate Boban concerning the political and security situation and the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the committee declared themselves in favor of a persistent seeking of a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also ordered all the bodies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna to do everything for a successful defense of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna from aggression.

The political declaration of the HDZ was also adopted at the session, in which it is stated that "the HDZ is the main and almost the only political force of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina," and that under its leadership, "the Croatian people have managed to defend from the Serb, as well as the Muslim, aggression most of the populated territory, thus gaining the right to the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, which has a vital and strategic importance for the Croatian people."

The HDZ supports the "providing of an equal status of the Croats and the other peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, in the union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a democratically organized Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna that will guarantee and secure all the rights and freedoms to every citizen," the integral city of Mostar as the capital of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the protection, improvement, and security of all the rights of the Croats as "the precondition for stopping the eviction of the Croats, securing the return of the refugees and displaced persons," and also "the building of firm principles of protecting the Croats who remain outside the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna on a reciprocal basis, regarding the rights of the other two peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Among the decisions listed in the declarations, it was stated that the HDZ will continue to support the ending of the war through political negotiations, the protection of the rights of the Croatian people and just peace, and, in cooperation with the international community, a permanent political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially on the basis of the latest initiative of the European Union and the peace initiative of the president of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, on an equal basis for determining the rights of each of the three peoples: Croats, Muslims, and Serbs, especially on the basis of territorial demarcation. The HDZ considers unconditional observance of the international war and humanitarian law, the disclosing and punishment of war crimes, regardless of who the perpetrators are, and the free passage and delivery of humanitarian aid on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be obligations no one can be exempt from. The HDZ will retain its political influence through new forms of organizational solutions and appointments of new people, as well as improving the political unity of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and implementing the tasks contained in the program through political activities.

Ganic Discusses Fighting, Peace Talks

NC0401202494 Cairo 'AQIDATI in Arabic 21 Dec 93 p 20

[Interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by 'AQIDATI correspondent Jamal Salim, during the former's visit to Cairo "last week"]

[Text] [Salim] What are the latest developments on the battlefield?

[Ganic] Praise be to God, the Muslim fighters are standing fast against the Serbo-Croatian aggression and the international plot against us. More than 100,000 Muslims are fighting with small-caliber weapons and few large-caliber weapons that they seized from the Serbs and Croats. The international plot continues. The arms embargo continues against us while arms supplies continue to reach the enemies before the eyes and ears of the whole world. It's an embargo imposed on the victim while the aggressor continues to receive arms to complete the plot and uproot Islam from Europe because Islam represents the thorn in Europe's side. Accordingly, the Europeans seek to obstruct the establishment of a European Islamic state in modern history, even if this would mean the annihilation of the entire Muslim people.

We have become hostages on our own land, because the UN forces cannot protect us or even protect themselves. The UN forces cannot carry out the task that they have been entrusted with and they also cannot protect the humanitarian relief convoys. Furthermore, it was recently revealed to the world that these forces have harassed Bosnian women. Nevertheless, the Muslims have scored various victories on several fronts. But the Western media have purposely concealed these victories so that the Muslims would feel that the Bosnian cause is dead.

[Salim] What are the most significant attacks to which the Muslims have so far been exposed?

[Ganic] No doubt the principal objective behind all the attacks is to wipe out Islam regardless of the price. The rape of women and children falls within this context. There is also an attempt to obliterate the Islamic identity by deliberately killing Muslim ulema, burning Islamic books and schools, and destroying more than 800 mosques. Muslim towns and villages have been devastated as a result of the mass annihilation campaign. Nonetheless, we continue to cling to our Islamic ethics when we deal with the Serbian and Croatian prisoners. We have never tortured any prisoner. This was very much appreciated by some prisoners, who converted to Islam in view of its tolerance and its care of human dignity despite their atrocities and annihilation campaign.

[Salim] What about the partition plan and the ongoing peace negotiations?

[Ganic] The international plot is clear through the share of the land earmarked for the Muslims. We have rejected the share because it is not proportional with the percentage of our population, which is 45 percent. We will only accept a just peace that would safeguard our usurped rights regardless of the sacrifices and losses.

I believe that the protracted peace negotiations are a waste of time because the Serbs and Croats continue to ignore the repeated appeals to stop the fighting. The negotiations aim to impose fait accompli because the international negotiators and mediators are wasting time. The proposed partition plan will lead to the displacement of 60 percent of Muslims.

[Salim] How have you prepared for the freezing winter under the difficult conditions that the Bosnian Muslim fighters and refugees are going through?

[Ganic] Actually, the tragedy is much greater than the resources available, something that has led to the martyrdom of hundreds of elderly people, children, and wounded people because of a shortage of relief supplies and medical aid. The Muslims are torn between the shelling and the freezing winter on the one hand and the shortage of supplies as a result of the repeated Serbian and Croatian attacks on the other hand. So what can we do in these conditions that are too tough for anybody to endure? The time has come for the Islamic countries to coordinate and cooperate among themselves to come to our rescue. All the Islamic states are responsible before God for their shortcomings toward us. Thus, I appeal to Islamic states to employ their financial and human resources as well as their diplomatic relations to put an end to the shedding of Muslim blood in Europe before we are all annihilated. This is because in such a case, Islam would never rise again in Europe and would be lost the way Islamic Spain was lost before. Faced with the current situation, there is nothing we could do other than hold on to God's words: "No soul but God can lay it bare" and "Verily God will defend from ill those who believe."

[Salim] What about your visit to Egypt?

[Ganic] I came to Egypt because it represents a great source of momentum in defense of our cause, in view of its good relations with the major states that have the power to adopt international resolutions. Egypt has a major role to play as a torchbearer of Islam, the home country of al-Azhar, and the country where every Muslim who suffers from injustice and oppression takes refuge. We hope that in the near future Egypt's good relations with the major states will bear fruit and the conspiracy against the Bosnian Muslims will cease.

[Salim] The media has reported divisions among the Muslims of Bosnia. How true is this?

[Ganic] These were just some differences in views, but they are over, thank God. All Muslims are now united in the face of aggression, because the deluge will not spare any Muslim. Thus, we are now united, thank God, under a single leadership and there are no divisions as the Western media have reported. These media have exaggerated the matter as if it were an inter-Muslim war. I warn Muslims all over the world that the conspiracy against Bosnia is not the end of the conspiracy against Islam in Europe, but rather the first one that will be followed by others in the future.

Herceg-Bosna Official Comments on Peace Talks

AU0401163194 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 94 p 6

[Interview with Mile Akmadzic, minister for interrepublican and international relations for the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna and former prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Ante Suljak; place and date not given: "Boban Is President, I Remain Minister...."]

[Text] [Suljak] Mr. Akmadzic, you and Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the [Croatian] president's National Security Council, recently attended talks with the Serbian side in Belgrade. What did you discuss?

[Akmadzic] It is correct that Mr. Hrvoje Sarinic and I visited Belgrade at the initiative of the cochairmen of the peace conference, Owen and Stoltenberg. In Belgrade, we held talks with Serbian representatives, the leaders of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic, Momcilo Krajisnik, and Nikola Koljevic. The talks were also attended by the representatives of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic. The talks were also attended by some other important persons, the cochairmen of the peace conference, and some members of their expert teams.

All issues that burden Croatian-Serbian relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina were discussed, such as the issue of delineation. We also discussed how to jointly approach the issue of concessions, the issue of making concessions, or, as this is referred to in the negotiations, territorial concessions for the Muslim Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this regard, the Serbian side was more obliged to make territorial concessions, while the Croatian side was obliged to consider concessions regarding an access to the sea. The talks, all aspects of the talks, so to speak, focused on these issues. The result of the talks was, we can call it, the joint proposal in Geneva made with the cochairmen for settling this issue, which was unfortunately not fully concluded and agreed on at the end. However, joint principles were established as to how to make concessions to the Muslim Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Suljak] Could you tell us, without giving us a hard diplomatic answer, whether you returned from Belgrade satisfied?

[Akmadzic] No, I, personally, did not return satisfied from Belgrade. I must immediately stress that from Belgrade we went to Vienna where we held talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic and his aides. The talks that were held there focused on virtually the same topics and problems. These talks represent bilateral contacts, which, if I may say so, have been going on continuously between the negotiating rounds in Geneva and Brussels. We were not satisfied. I repeat, I personally was not satisfied. I am not satisfied because the Geneva-Brussels talks were again adjourned, because they ended without a final settlement.

I would like to use this opportunity to say that, apart from these talks, other continuous contacts between the Serbian and the Muslim sides are also maintained in Sarajevo, at the local airport. Therefore, what should be emphasized is that contacts among the three sides are being maintained all the time. The negotiations in Geneva happen periodically, after these contacts. Such contacts will continue to be maintained. I am not saying that the Belgrade meeting will be repeated, but contacts

aimed at finding a lasting solution, establishing a cease-fire, and ending all hostilities will be maintained.

Joint Solution

[Suljak] Did the Serbian and the Muslim sides demand from the Croatian side at these talks in Vienna and Belgrade anything else that the public does not know? Were there any new, additional demands at the expense of the Croatian side?

[Akmadzic] No, one cannot talk about something being demanded at the expense of someone else. I can say that all these talks were held in a good atmosphere. However, no one is demanding anything at the expense of someone else. We were trying to find a joint solution. Of course, every side is trying to get the best possible deal, which none of the three sides found very easy anyway.

[Suljak] How is it that you accompanied Hrvoje Sarinic and not, for instance, Mate Boban, especially in view of the fact that Radovan Karadzic represented the other side?

[Akmadzic] I was in the Croatian side because I am a Croat, if you want to know on whose side I am.

Without a Compromise

[Suljak] No, we know that, but why was Mr. Boban not present at these talks?

[Akmadzic] I was chosen to go there, in agreement with Mr. Boban. Therefore, there was nothing unusual in this, except what was agreed. When the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosna was founded, the need arose for the involvement of as many people from different positions as possible.

[Suljak] What is your comment on the increasingly frequent reports in some Croatian and foreign media on the replacement of Mate Boban, especially the articles that are already promoting you as the next top man in the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosna.

[Akmadzic] I will not give you a diplomatic answer, but will be sincere, I have not been reading newspapers recently. I am very busy. I would not want to comment on this. Mr. Mate Boban is president of the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosna and president of HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]. These are his posts and this is what he is. I am minister for inter-republican and international cooperation. My job is also to act as a coordinator, so to speak, between the Croatian and Muslims sides and reestablish trust. I also perform certain jobs in the political body for relations between the Croats from Herzegovina and the Croats from Bosnia, that is, the political representative body in the future union of Bosnia-Herzegovina republics. I have too many jobs and I have no time to think about anything else.

[Suljak] So, no one approached you recently with the proposal to perform the duties of the top man of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna in the future?

[Akmadzic] I have already told you, Mr. Mate Boban is president of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Article Criticizes Proposals Made in Geneva

AU0401155794 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 24-31 December 93 p 3

[Article by Mirza Hajric: "Two Steps Backward"]

[Text] The urgency, artificially created by the European Union, to establish peace in Bosnia generated great caution. Such a serious matter, a juggernaut of world politicians and European ministers, did not deserve to be hurried. For, hurry may lead to grave mistakes that, considering the present situation in Bosnia, would later be impossible to correct.

Rumors composed of news from various sources have increased the pressure even more. Russian sources say that the leadership of the Bosnian Serb extremists is no longer trusted, but that they demand confirmation from our authorities. The Russians used high diplomatic channels to inquire whether it was true that Prime Minister Silajdzic and Momcilo Krajisnik agreed to divide Sarajevo, destroy Butmir airport, and build a new airport for each side. Furthermore, we received information that the Serbs came to Geneva with a map on which east Bosnia is just a little bit bigger and nothing more. According to the same sources, Croatia is prepared to relinquish enclaves held by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], but will not give up Neum. The Serbian-Croatian side arranged that access to the sea be solved via Prevlaka.

"Demands of Europe"

The European Union, which, it seems, is pretending to hold the key to the decision this time, presented secret demands for "all three sides." The Serbs are required to give 3 to 4 percent of the territory within the framework of the agreement made on the carrier "Invincible," to guarantee full freedom of movement around Sarajevo and the enclaves, to accept the modus vivendi, and to end the siege right away. European ministers said that the inflexible attitude of the Serbs is the main obstacle to peace. The Serbs were also warned that continued bombing of safe areas under UN protection would no longer be tolerated.

The Croats were told to grant access to the sea at Prevlaka and Ploce, and to allow using the port on the Neretva River. They were also advised to prepare an alternative in the area of the municipality of Neum that, at Klek, will give access to the sea, so that, in case of the divorce of the Bosnian republics, it will be an access to the sea for the Bosnian republic. Croatia was told that its international recognition would be at stake if it did not comply with this demand. It was also told that economic

and trade relations with the European Union would be strained even further if it did not meet the requirements for the implementation of the final agreement.

The Bosnian leadership was asked to stop military activities by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in central Bosnia and provocations on the demarcation lines in Sarajevo.

The negotiations were exceptionally unorganized this time. They were supposed to begin at 1200, instead of at 1100, but they actually began at 1430. As a matter of fact, our delegation was given the role of an observer. Throughout the day, the cochairmen of the peace process informed it of the progress of negotiations with the other two sides. And at 1800, it was announced that a new Serb-Croat proposal was completed, so Izetbegovic and Silajdzic met with Milosevic, Karadzic, and Krajisnik, in the presence of Owen and Stoltenberg. Then they presented the plan that gives 33.3 percent of the territory. It all sounded like the right road to peace, until they put the map on the table.

No one in our delegation expected to see something like that. We expected the one-third of the territory to be tied to those areas of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that we are directly interested in, considering the real situation. That proposal did not comply with any concession we thought necessary. Eastern Bosnia, was not expanded significantly, although that had been promised. The map only showed the connection between Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica. The same happened with west Bosnia. Not a word about returning the territory of Sanski Most, Kljuc, Prijedor....

The access to the sea, as seen by Milosevic and Tudjman, has a very unnatural geographic silhouette. It is about 120 km away from the territory of the Bosnian republic. The road to Prevlaka, whose northern part of the peninsula is supposed to become our harbor, mostly goes along the Croatian-Montenegrin border, through a very difficult terrain, and that solution is more of a worry than the one that solves any problem. The Bosnian state delegation has no intentions of relinquishing Neum, for that territory belongs to Bosnia-Herzegovina and it is the only natural access to the sea. Indeed, there are some difficulties, like shallow waters or the fact that there is no harbor there, but no solution is ideal. Neum will be one of the main headaches of European ministers due to the stubbornness of Croatian President Tudjman. According to one proposal, Neum could also be under joint Bosnian-Herzegovinian authority, or, according to another, the United States could undertake to have a two-year administration until the final solution is found.

"Diluting the Agreement"

We were most disappointed to see some questions that we considered solved opened for discussion again. Those questions concern Brcko and Doboj. After details of the two problems were explained, Silajdzic referred to the proposal as "two steps backward" and accused the Serbs of coming up with a new proposal every time, thus putting back the negotiations. Lord Owen agreed that it was frivolous for "sensible adults" to change solutions on which they had previously agreed.

According to the latest proposal, Brcko is cut off from the territory of the Bosnian republic by 12 to 15 km. Milosevic offered guaranteed access and territorial sovereignty at the Sava River. He said one must not allow that the connection between large Serbian territories in western and eastern Bosnia "hang" on a viaduct like a "cherry petal." There was much discussion about Brcko, but no agreement was reached. We insisted on keeping things as we had arranged much earlier. The solution for Doboj is supposed be significantly changed, naturally in favor of Karadzic. There was no agreement about that. We demand free use of the railway station and railway junction, as was previously arranged.

Regarding central Bosnia, there were also many changes in Milosevic's geographic vision of Bosnia. The Croatian "intestine in the stomach" of the Bosnian republic was made larger, but Milosevic proposed that Busovaca, Kiseljak, Kresevo, and Prozor belong to us, in order to round up the map of central Bosnia in the shape of a ball, and Serbia would somehow arrange with Croatia about some other concessions that would be acceptable. President Izetbegovic demanded that Novi Travnik and Vitez be assigned to the Bosnian republic.

"Serbian Peasant Sarajevo"

Sarajevo is still one of the major problems. Karadzic is pushing his proposal on, as he says, "peasant Sarajevo," a parallel city between Rajlovac and Ilidza. He did not accept the two-year UN administration, because he said it would only postpone the undeferrable separation. According to the plan presented at the table, out of 3.2 percent of the area of Sarajevo in the total territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic, 2.3 percent would belong to the Bosnian republic. That includes 90 percent of the city of Sarajevo. We think that the problem of this proposal lies in communications. We want free flow of all communications—and we offer the same to the Serbian side, in the form of roads and railroads toward the north (Vogosca and Ilijas)—or the UN administration. Momcilo Krajisnik proposed that the city be divided in the direction east-west on banks of the Miljacka River. Krajisnik "sadly" deduced that the position of Sarajevo was ideal, but upside down, so that it would be really difficult to reach a solution. We repeated our demand for eastern Bosnia, i.e. several territories that would connect Sarajevo and eastern Bosnia (Zepce and Srebrenica to Gorazde, including Visegrad).

We were actually not talking about demands, but repeating what was agreed on principle with the European Union. We must only find the way to realize that. Definitely not the one Karadzic wants. In general, the plan is painfully implementable. By agreeing to this solution, we would accept the plan that would resettle about 300,000 people and perhaps another 500,000 would not be able to return to their homes. We refuse to withdraw from any of territories that we are holding. It

seems that the entire campaign about peace in Bosnia as a Christmas gift for the Balkans and Europe is premature. However, it will be continued in Brussels, where Milosevic and Tudjman will be pressured by European ministers. Some of our leaders say that we are nevertheless much closer to peace than it seems.

Serb Commander: UN Troops Safe in Serb Areas

LD0401170994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Zvornik, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—Major General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the main headquarters of the republic of Srpska's Army [VRS], told TANJUG today that not one UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] member has ever been hurt on Serb-held territory. At the same time, Gvero added, it is well known how many UNPROFOR troops have lost their lives or have been wounded in Muslim and Croat-controlled areas.

"Facts point to the inevitable conlusion that the Blue Berets are completely safe only on the territory of the republic of Srpska," Gvero stressed. According to him, "the Serbian side has so far displayed full cooperation in its dealings with members of international organizations and UNPROFOR." Gvero underlined that UNPROFOR's movements are always determined by previous agreement between the two sides and that, because of this, "there is absolutely no reason why the Serb side should be singled out as the party obstructing or preventing UNPROFOR's movements."

The deputy commander of the VRS main headquarters pointed out that top-level officers recently met General Francis Briquemont, UNPROFOR's commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that "it was noted with mutual satisfaction that a high degree of rapport has been established between the Serbian side and UNPROFOR."

"We expect soon to have a similar meeting with General Jean Cot, UNPROFOR's commander for former Yugoslavia, which will certainly be mutually beneficial," General Gvero assessed.

Joint Radio Programming Arranged for Serb Areas

LD0401152694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—A joint meeting of the radio stations of Banja Luka, Semberija and Majevica (Bijeljina) and Sarajevo—the previous channel S, broadcast from Pale—was held in Banja Luka today in connection with joint programming for a radio station in the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina.

The joint programming will start on 17 January and implies joint broadcasts every working day between 0800 GMT and 1200 GMT. Between these times each studio—Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Knin and Sarajevo (Pale)—will produce one hour of programs. The news and current affairs programs will be joint programs because the news—at noon and 1500—will go out from the Sarajevo (Pale) studio, while the 1900 cast will be broadcast from Banja Luka. However, the Banja Luka studio will broadcast a news bulletin at 1500 on its second program, and it will have its own daily news program at 1600.

Joint weekend broadcasts begin on 14 January. They will begin at noon on Saturday. They will end at 0600 the following day, and the studios will be changed in accordance with an established timetable.

In addition to establishing common programs, principles amd ways of exchanging information were established, as were other forms of joint work in the unified RS and RSK radio. The meeting was also to have been attended by representatives of Serb Radio Knin, but they will be informed by letter of the agreement on joint programming.

* Finland Approves Humanitarian Aid Package

94P20188Z Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 23 Dec 93 p 9

[Finnish News Service report: "Forty Million Markkas in Humanitarian Aid From Finland to Bosnia"]

[Text] Finland has granted 40 million markkas in humanitarian assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The aid will be handled through the Foreign Ministry's Development Aid Section.

"Planning for distribution of the aid will start in January. The aid will partly consist of goods, partly personnel, and partly as direct support," said Humanitarian Aid Section Chief Ritva Jolkkonen.

Needs for the aid will be discussed with international relief agencies. This year aid has gone through the UNHCR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees), the International Red Cross, and the World Health Organization (WHO).

Partly Goods, Partly Money

Part of the aid will go as goods, part as money, since at its destination money is needed for purchasing fuel, etc. The aid sent through WHO will be in the form of medical equipment and such items as artificial limbs. Finnish experts can also be sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina with the aid money. "The intention is to act now in anticipation of winter needs," Jolkkonen stated.

Committee Hears Granic Report on Policy Goals

AU0501101594 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Prevlaka to the Muslims?"]

[Text] Having had great difficulties with raising a quorum, five committees of the Chamber of Representatives held sessions on Tuesday [28 December] to discuss the bills prepared for the emergency session announced for the afternoon. The Committee for Selection and Appointment supported the bill relieving Stjepan Herceg of the duties of state attorney and proposed appointing Krunislav Olujic to this position. They also supported relieving Dragoslav Gecl of his position as deputy governor of the National Bank of Croatia, which was requested by Gecl himself.

The Committee for Foreign Policy heard the report of Foreign Minister Mate Granic, who pointed out that the international community supports the integrity of Croatia, while the radicalism supported by some in Croatia is of no help. Granic claimed that the international community is not homogenous, as well as the European Union, but there are various interests at stake in their activities, in which the events following the elections in Russia play an important role. The main aims of Croatian foreign policy are to consolidate the position of Croatia, protect the Croatian national interests, and find common grounds with the international community, said Granic.

Speaking about the French-German proposal, Granic stated that it clearly followed from the proposal that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be solved politically without the solution for the UNPA's [United Nations Protected Areas] in Croatia. For the sanctions against Serbia to be suspended, the modus vivendi for Croatia should first be established, which implies a cease-fire, the opening of communications, and the reintegration of the Croatian areas under UN control.

Regarding the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the foreign minister stated that there was a consensus that the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be given 33.3 percent of the territory, but that there were different opinions on where this territory should spread. Granic remarked that there were strong pressures on the Croats to concede territories, but it was accepted that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina must have 17.5 percent of the territory. Assessing the Muslim positions, Granic established that their orientation is to create a strong republic based on the assessment that they can conquer central Bosnia. The Croatian orientation is to stop this conflict through negotiations and to resolve it through political agreements.

Croatia is still offering the Muslims access to the sea, the use of the port of Celjevo on the Neretva River, the construction of the Stolac-Neum highway, and the tourist community of Klek, which would be under joint ownership, said Granic, adding that what the Muslims are demanding is not an access to the sea but rather an exit. Granic mentioned one of the possible variants: giving Prevlaka to the Muslims but getting the hinterland of Dubrovnik in return and keeping Neum under Croatian control, because, as Granic said, we will persist in demanding that there be no cutting of the Croatian territory at Neum.

The foreign minister remarked that strict observance of international humanitarian and war law will help in seeking a common ground with the European Union, reminding that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina released 5,600 people from prisons, and in the last 32 days they provided passage for 284 humanitarian convoys. Granic said that this orientation will be persisted upon in the future, remarking that despite the Muslim offensive at the Croatian areas in central Bosnia, Croatia keeps insisting on negotiations. He announced that he was going to meet with [Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister] Haris Silajdzic sometime during the day.

The Committee for Legislation and the Committee for Work, Family, Youth, and Social Policy supported the bills regulating provisions for retirement and health funds and for children's allowance. The above-mentioned bills will become effective on 1 January 1994, and the provision rates will remain at the same level as in 1993.

Granic Views Peace Process, Relations

AU0401163494 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 93 pp 4,5

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Ante Gugo; place and date not given: "'Belgrade Decides—War or Peace'"]

[Text] We can say that Mate Granic is a politician who marked the year coming to a close. Although he was appointed foreign minister as late as 1 June, it was that part of politics that marked global events. Unprecedented dynamism in meeting world diplomats and heads of states enabled Granic to make significant changes in the image of Croatia in the world, and thanks to his persistence and the right dose of determination, Resolutions 847 and 871 were adopted, unambiguously confirming Croatia's right to establish full sovereignty over its entire territory. His insistence on respecting international humanitarian law, regardless of the fact that the world did not view all sides from the same perspective regarding the issue of convoys, made the world understand that Croatia sincerely intends to establish peace. Although his efforts were disturbed by injudicious moves, primarily in Herceg-Bosna, Granic showed that, in a relatively short period of time, he acquired capital that can grant credit to the bad moves of others. Consequently, the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar did not have serious repercussions on Croatia. The fact that he was received by the United States Senate, and his ease in establishing contacts with his Western counterparts,

speaks for his credibility as the representative of Croatian politics in the world.

[Gugo] At the end of this calendar year, could you summarize Croatian foreign politics?

[Granic] Croatian foreign politics are characterized by securing a better international position for our country. There were many problems, the pressure of the international community after the Maslenica operation to begin with, but especially due to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We gave special consideration to solving the problem of the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones. European integration proces[illegible] and settling the relations with our neighbors were a parallel task. We obtained Resolutions 815, 820, 847, and 871, which undoubtedly confirm the right of the Republic of Croatia to sovereignty over its entire territory, i.e. within internationally recognized borders. Furthermore, President Tudjman launched a timely initiative. This period is probably also characterized by the failure of the Geneva talks, which contributed to reducing tensions toward us, for it finally became obvious who does not want peace.

"Help to Central Bosnia"

[Gugo] The latest round of the Geneva talks had been announced quite optimistically, but there were no obvious improvements. Why?

[Granic] There were many bilateral talks on various levels, from peace mediators to foreign ministers. The Serbs were expected to show more leniency and Alija Izetbegovic was expected to show more determination to establish peace, which did not happen. Simultaneously, two important things happened—on one hand, Karadzic was inflexible regarding the agreement on Sarajevo, thus triggering the rage of the international community, and, on the other hand, Izetbegovic did not turn out any better either. Refusing some rational solutions and demanding more concessions, Izetbegovic brought the negotiations to a dead end. What we have long been warning the international community about has obviously finally come to the surface—that a great Muslim offensive is imminent. Izetbegovic wants to buy time and repeats demands to which we will never agree.

[Gugo] If the bilateral talks of the cochairmen of the Geneva conference were cause for optimism, what has changed in the meantime?

[Granic] At the first meeting, it was obvious that Milosevic gave an election speech for the public in Serbia. That was the main reason why no improvement was made. At the first plenary session, Izetbegovic accused the entire international community of being responsible for the suffering of his nation and for the disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Already at that point it was clear that no improvement was possible. At the second meeting, Milosevic was pressured by threats of even stricter sanctions, and he was much more prepared to talk. Karadzic was the one who did not accept some solutions. We must not have any illusions and view the two of them separately, for that was a trick. In fact, they belong to one and the same Serbian side. Alija Izetbegovic did not agree to some quite sensible and realistic solutions. A very strong ministerial delegation attempted to convince the Muslim side to accept sensible solutions, but it did not succeed. We were not surprised by that. We think that an agreement will soon be reached. On the other side, the Muslims think that they can still gain something by the military option and several factors are to their advantage. The most important one is the insufficient threat of the international community.

[Gugo] Can the Muslims achieve military victory in central Bosnia?

[Granic] Croatian enclaves are in a very bad position and helping them is one of our priority goals. The essence of our strategy is the survival of the Croats in central Bosnia and Sarajevo, and we need all the help we can get to realize that. We expect—and the same holds for the entire European Union—a Muslim state in which there will also be space for the Croats, just as there will be space for the Muslims in the Croatian republic. All of democratic Europe will support that type of secular state, but no one, in these parts, wants a fundamentalists county like that which some closest associates of Alija Izetbegovic want to create.

"We Will Not Give Neum"

[Gugo] Our public was very disturbed by the alleged proposal of President Tudjman that the Muslims be given 5 km of the coast at Prevlaka. What is the background of such a move?

[Granic] We offered the approach to the sea to the Muslims, and that is something the international community asks from us. However, they exclusively demand access to the sea. The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina favored the creation of the union, i.e. they wanted a reciprocal protection of rights within units in the Union. It is well-known that the Serbs and the Muslims signed an agreement on the referendum for the exclusion from the Union. Such an act was accepted by the international community. The Croats must be prepared for both options, both for the disintegration and for the survival of the Union, but they will not do anything to prejudice any solution. At one point, the Muslims accepted the port on the Neretva River, a tourist complex under joint administration in the area of Klek, and the highway from Stolac to Neum. Afterwards, they expanded their demand to require sovereignty over Neum, to which we will never agree, for that would entail the dismembering of the Croatian ethnic territory. The cochairmen proposed an exchange of territory in the area of Prevlaka. President Tudjman left the possibility open, but only in case of establishing a lasting peace on the entire territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. As you see, there is no peace, and the Croats will not accept being cut off at Neum.

[Gugo] Does such an option not lead us into the trap of informally canceling resolutions that say that borders must not be changed?

[Granic] There was talk of exchanging territories among recognized and sovereign countries by agreement.

[Gugo] Can we expect to see the war end soon on occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia?

[Granic] At the meeting of the European Union, Serbia accepted the modus vivendi, which was publicly confirmed by Minister Jovanovic. That means that we must first establish a lasting cease-fire, and then open up communications. Then we must organize the "London II" conference, which will solve the questions of local autonomy. Only after that, at the "London III" conference, provided that a solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina is found, lifting sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro would be considered, as well as their inclusion into the international community. Actually, we must implement Resolutions 847 and 871. The Serbs are aware that the implementation of the peace plan is, in practice, also tied to lifting sanctions. At the latest session of the European Union, Russian Minister Churkin proposed that lifting sanctions be tied only to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which encountered serious resistance. Indeed, he also proposed the immediate mutual recognition of Serbia and Croatia and the establishment of diplomatic relations. Lifting sanctions is, for us, totally unacceptable before the establishment of lasting peace. The fact is that Serbia is in the stage of preparing its own public to accept the peace plan for Croatia.

[Gugo] How long could that last?

[Granic] Any kind of Cyprus syndrome is out of the question, or the example of Germany, which waited for reunification for 50 years. We demand a dynamic process. Anyway, you can estimate how long Milosevic can endure sanctions without serious social upheaval.

"Russia Is Not Against Croatia"

[Gugo] Is one justified in fearing that the arrival of Greece at the head of the European Union will not contribute to a rapid solution to the war crisis?

[Granic] That does not have to be true at all. The Greek are not hiding their friendship with Serbia. We had many talks with them and I believe that they, too, will see to it that the war is over as soon as possible.

[Gugo] An extreme nationalist won the elections in Russia, and he announced breaking the sanctions imposed on Serbia. Are those threats founded and can they influence the present situation?

[Granic] They cannot lift sanctions imposed on Serbia. At the same time, a new constitution was introduced in Russia, giving authority to President Yeltsin. On the other hand, Zhirinovskiy is obviously not hiding his inclination toward Serbia and the fact that they want to lift sanctions as soon as possible. However, the view of official Russian politics does not violate the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

[Gugo] Do you really believe that, in any variant, those who pointed their weapons against Croatia, will allow two parts of Croatia to be joined through the territory that they presently control?

[Granic] UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] is here to guarantee the success of that agreement. There are some people who are against reaching and implementing any agreement. Those are well-known facts. However, the position of Belgrade is here most important, for everything depends on that. The initiative of the European Union starts from the fact that Belgrade is directly responsible for the situation in the UNPA zones.

[Gugo] So, on one side, there is Milan Babic, who has had conflicts with Belgrade and was disobedient before, and on the other, UNPROFOR, which is totally incapable of doing anything using force....

[Granic] With a clear stand of Belgrade regarding the UNPA zones, UNPROFOR itself will act differently. Unfortunately, even that does not guarantee the implementation of the peaceful option and we must therefore strengthen our defense forces in case the peace option is not possible.

[Gugo] That means that a military option is also being considered?

[Granic] More precisely, we will not allow any calculations or compromises with the Croatian territory. We will make no concessions regarding that.

[Gugo] Prime Minister Valentic's economic program cannot be realized without the integration of Croatia into European institutions. What is the situation regarding that?

[Granic] It is true that we are interested in being granted credit from the IMF, the World Bank, to enter the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program.... Signing the peace agreement will allow Croatia access to all those institutions and we are capable of applying those programs very soon. We will demand to begin talks on our membership of European institutions, and we stand a good chance, for we respect all set conditions. After all, we have fully complied with everything we were asked to do regarding international humanitarian law. Let us just look at how many convoys are allowed free passage by the Croats, and what the Serb or the Muslims did with the convoy headed to Nova Bila. Indeed, there is an occasional act of sabotage, when we least need it. Looking at the time of the events in Ahmici, Stupni Dol, or the Old Bridge, it is obvious that those were sabotages against the position of Croatia. And we will have to deal with that. The Muslims committed many more terrible atrocities, but every stupid move of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats costs us much more. I do not intend to justify crimes done by some Croats, for

they cannot be justified and I condemn them, but I want to point out that we went through many situations that were not to our advantage. The Old Bridge in Mostar was destroyed at the time when the image of Croatia in the world started to improve. The world knows of our efforts to release prisoners. In the past 32 days, 284 convoys went through without any problem. The international community expects us to behave like that, and, whether some like it or not, we must respect international humanitarian law. Our politics must be transparent and credible.

"Changes at the Ministry"

[Gugo] Does that mean that we can soon expect Croatia to become a member of European institutions?

[Granic] I believe that will mark the following year. European integration processes are our primary goal. Moreover, we would like to develop relations with major world powers and try to establish good relations with countries of outstanding economic development, like some Asian countries. We must also think of our neighbors and fully define our mutual relations. At the beginning of next year, there will be a ministerial meeting with Italy, and I hope that some minor tensions will disappear. We are especially interesting in developing good relations with Slovenia. There are some problems, like Krsko and Ljubljanska Banka, but expert groups are working and there will probably have no problems in solving these to mutual satisfaction. Regarding the Bay of Piran, I think that we have not yet exhausted all means, and that must be done before the arbitrage. Right after New Year, we will intensify our talks.

[Gugo] How much truth is there in rumors that we will soon see some significant changes in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Granic] I do not know what precisely you are referring to, but there will be some changes. According to the new law, our Ministry will be organized, as it is customary in Europe, and will have a state secretary, and some personnel changes have already been made. We established a permanent financial expert control in all embassies and consulates. From the month of March, permanent postgraduate studies will begin for the education of our personnel. We are working on improving the communication network, which is one of the more important factors in our Ministry. I believe that will contribute to organizing a modern and efficient state ministry.

Croatian Refugees Demonstrate at Bosnian Embassy

LD0401200394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Croat refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, the majority of them from central Bosnia, organized a peaceful demonstration outside the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb today to protest at Muslim aggression against the Croatian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Reporter] You are a jihad embassy, the killers of Algeria are the same as those in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vukovar equals Vitez—these were some of the slogans which could be seen outside the embassy during a protest demonstration by about 100 people. The police blocked their way about 30 meters from the embassy. [passage omitted]

Behind the tightly closed Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy doors, the staff, well guarded by the police, show no signs of nervousness. Neven Kulenovic, an adviser in the embassy, commented that it is no coincidence that the demonstrations are taking place at a time when Jadranko Prlic is asking the Croatian Government to sever diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

SDS Protests 'Manipulation' of Vote Commission

AU0401200294 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by C. M.: "Violation of the Will of the People"]

[Text] Knin—"The SDS [the Serbian Democratic Party] of Krajina was the winner at the elections that have just ended," is stated at the beginning of a statement for the public, signed by Drago Kovacevic, chief of the party's electoral headquarters. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the SDS of Krajina won the greatest number of deputies in the future republican parliament and an absolute majority in 14 communes, while Dr. Milan Babic won at the presidential elections. "Through manipulation by the Republican Electoral Commission, Babic's victory has been quashed by enlarging the electoral body for 4 percent of invalid ballots, which is without precedent in the world."

"The Republican Electoral Commission, which consists of seven judges of the highest Krajina courts, in a so far unprecedented manner, usurped the right to alter laws, although this is an exclusive prerogative of the Assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, thus violating the legal system and the institutions."

Within the legally prescribed deadline, the SDS of Krajina has sent a request for protection of legality to the constitutional court of the republic of Serbian Krajina. "A decision to hold the second round of presidential elections on 23 January 1994 and not on 9 January 1993, proceeding from the article 6A of the Law on Presidential Elections, constitutes the height of violation of legality by the Republican Electoral Commission. The SDS of Krajina, as a party that strictly observes democratic procedure has demanded protection of legality from the constitutional court of the republic of Serbian Krajina in a belief that the constitutional court will act in accordance with its authorities and put an end to the arbitrariness of the Republican Electoral Commission and the current authorities in the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Madeleine Albright Arrives in Zagreb for Visit

LD0501113094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Announcer] American Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright has arrived in Zagreb. Tihomir Vinkovic reports for Croatian Radio:

[Vinkovic] Upon arrival at Zagreb aiport Ambassador Albright told journalists there were three reasons for her visit to Croatia: First is the stand of the American Administration that there is no justification of aggression, war crimes, and thwarting dispatch of humanitarian aid. The American Administration supports the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. Currently occupied Croatian territories have to be returned in a peaceful way and through a political solution, ambassador Albright said. The U.S. Government will support efforts for the restoration of peace and dispatch of humanitarian aid, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the course of her visit to Croatia Ambassador Albright is to meet President Tudjman, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, representatives of the UN Protection Forces, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and other humanitarian organizations.

Kucan Hails Proposal for UN Special Envoy

AU0401163294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Regarding the letter of U.S. President Bill Clinton referring to the arrival of his special envoy Madeleine Albright, President Milan Kucan concluded that the initiative of President Clinton is highly important and welcome in Slovenia. Ambassador Albright will brief the Slovene leadership with the conclusions of the NATO summit that will take place on 10 and 11 January. This will primarily involve NATO's security cooperation with Central and East European countries and the so-called partnership for peace. In Kucan's opinion this issue is very important for Slovenia, which is a small country with rather limited possibilities for investment into armament. However, other issues that will supposedly be discussed are also interesting for Slovenia, for example, the issues concerning the functioning of the United Nations, part of which are humanitarian aid, implementation of measures, work of the war crimes tribunal, and expansion of the UN Security Council.

Milan Kucan also believes that the talks with Madeleine Albright in Slovenia will also be an opportunity to discuss relations between the states, as Ms. Albright is a good connoisseur of the situation in Slovenia and in the region.

Party Invites Zhirinovskiy To Attend Congress

AU0401154494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The National Social Alliance of Slovenia has invited the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Zhirinovskiy to visit Slovenia. Besides Zhirinovskiy, the party has also invited the head of the Italian Lega Nord Umberto Bossi and Ljupco Georgievski from the Macedonian VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]. All three of them are supposed to be the guests of the congress of the Slovene National Socialists on 12 February 1994. Of course, regarding this we can shortly expect the opinion of the incumbent Slovene authorities.

Federal

Yugoslavia, Croatia Agree To Exchange POW's

LD0401222594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2155 GMT 4 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Budapest, January 4 (TANJUG)—Vice-Premier of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zeljko Simic said that he had agreed on Tuesday [4 January] with Vice-President of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Ivica Kostovic that a certain number of POW's would be exchanged on January 12. Simic, who also heads the Federal Committee for the Normalization of Relations with Croatia, told TANJUG that all controversial issues on the exchange of POWs had been resolved in the talks with Kostovic which had taken place in Budapest.

The talks covered the destiny of 999 Yugoslav citizens who disappeared in the territory of Croatia in 1991 (they are mostly members of the former Yugoslav army who were captured during the war for Croatia's secession from the former federation and were sentenced to long prison terms on groundless charges), while the Croatian side seeks information about some 700 people. Croatia informed the members of the Yugoslav delegation about the fate of a certain number of the listed persons, but there are no details about most of the missing.

Simic said that it had been agreed that the talks would continue on January 10 in Geneva with Croatian Vice-Premier and President of the Croatian Committee for the normalization of Relations with Yugoslavia Mate Granic. Simic assessed that today's talks in Budapest, during which the two sides also considered other humanitarian and controversial issues, 'do not anticipate the resolving of political issues in relations between the two countries, but do create suppositions for such activities.'

The Geneva meeting with Granic will be a new chance to put on the agenda some other important questions of the normalization of overall relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, such as the re-establishment of telecommunications, highway and railway traffic, Simic specified.

Serbia

Seselj Proposes Division of Macedonia

AU0501103694 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 30 Dec 93 p 10

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, by BTA journalist Rayna Chobanova in Belgrade; date not given: "Everyone in Bosnia Should Get Their Own State"]

[Text] At the beginning of the eighties, the 38-year-old sociologist Vojislav Seselj was an admirer of the "patriarch of the Serbian national school" Dobrica Cosic. In 1984 Seselj was given an eight-year prison sentence by the post-Tito communist authorities when a document was seized from his home that praised the Titovization of Yugoslavia and condemned the federal system. Freed 22 months later, he founded the Serbian Radical Party, and a great number of dissidents flocked to support his ideas.

Later, however, the Serbian intellectuals distanced themselves from Seselj, frightened by the extreme radicalism of his views: a strong government, unification of the Serbian lands at any price, a hard stance toward the outside world, and liquidation of all "traitorous" parties in the country. Following the last elections his party now has 39 seats in the new Serbian parliament (previously it had 72). It is now the third largest party in parliament after the Socialist Party and the opposition Depos coalition [Democratic Movement of Serbia].

[Chobanova] How do you view the situation in Serbia following the elections?

[Seselj] The socioeconomic situation in Serbia will remain very grave and will even worsen. How can it improve? This government has no program nor mechanisms to solve the economic and social problems.

[Chobanova] Can the Radical Party do anything to improve the situation?

[Seselj] We will continue to criticize the people in power in all fields. We will see what the results are.

[Chobanova] How did your break with the Socialists come about?

[Seselj] We have never been together. This is a great delusion that is widespread among the public. We simply gave them a chance to form a minority government. We were not in a coalition with them, and continually criticized them. Later, when we wanted to topple the government, they dissolved parliament.

We kept away only from Milosevic—from the outset we did not criticize him, only the Socialists. Even now it would have been the same if Milosevic had not started arresting our supporters. We started criticizing him, and therefore won so few votes. Many people cannot stand the Socialist Party, but for some irrational reasons respect Milosevic.

[Chobanova] Let us talk about Bosnia. Will there be an end to the war?

[Seselj] I do not believe so, unfortunately. The Muslims are continually spurred on by the West and their appetites are growing.

[Chobanova] But surely they have no forces to oppose and resist?

[Seselj] They have obtained a lot of weapons. They delivered many weapons to them by air drops and they will try to mount a big offensive.

[Chobanova] Perhaps they are counting on foreign military intervention. What do you think about this?

[Seselj] They have lost on this point too, there will be no military intervention. Who wants to die for the Muslims in Bosnia. Furthermore, it is very difficult to intervene militarily in Bosnia.

[Chobanova] Did the Serbian Radical Party have any soldiers fighting in Bosnia?

[Seselj] Yes, but they were all part of the Serbian troops. We did not have any separate units.

[Chobanova] What do you think about the West's policy toward the Balkans as a whole, apart from Bosnia?

[Seselj] The West's policy is wrong. First, the Americans are settling some of their own accounts in the Balkans. It is in their interest to halt the unification of Europe. They want to hinder the consolidation of the EC. If there were no conflicts in the Balkans, they would dream one up, to justify their intervention and presence here.

Second, Germany wanted to draw Slovenia and Croatia within its orbit. This is the reason Yugoslavia split. Germany has not yet stopped completely at this point. The Americans also have their interests regarding Turkey, and protect it.

[Chobanova] They also have interests in connection with Macedonia.

[Seselj] Macedonia is also connected with this, because the Americans clearly realize that the EC will never accept Turkey as a member. For this reason, Turkey is a convenient ally for them to drive a wedge into the heart of Europe. Turkey also has appetites regarding Bulgaria and Greece and wants to establish a convenient link with Macedonia, Albania, Sandjak, and Bosnia.

[Chobanova] Today, when Macedonia is an independent state, it cannot remain an apple of discord and will not burden the relations between Serbia and Bulgaria.

[Seselj] It should not make these relations difficult, but I fear there will be a big war in Macedonia, because 40 percent of its population are Albanians.

[Chobanova] After Zhirinovskiy's victory in Russia you said that "our man has won in Moscow." Your words received great publicity in Bulgaria. Moreover, a few days ago Russia said that it wants to play a bigger role in the Balkans.

[Seselj] It is in our interest for Russia to play a bigger role in the Balkans. Russia has traditionally helped Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania. Always, when we were close to Russia, when Russia intervened, we gained benefit from it. As soon as Austria-Hungary or Germany intervened, it immediately caused a quarrel between the Balkan peoples. For example, look at the war between Serbia and Bulgaria in 1885: It was completely unnecessary. This war was provoked by Austria-Hungary, and the Serbs suffered the most from it.

[Text] A short time ago Vuk Draskovic said that the division of Bosnia would not be to the Serbs' advantage, because it would create an Islamic state in the heart of Europe. The Islamic countries will aid the new state and Serbia will be left to its own fate.

[Seselj] Such a danger does exist, but when this civil war is over, we Serbs have no intention of living with the Muslims any longer. We did not start this war. The West persuaded Izetbegovic to insist on complete independence.

Much blood has been shed in this war. Why should we live together again? It is better to separate. Otherwise, we will continue to have bad relations with the Muslims. Why should we have a permanently unstable state? We want to have within our state the parts that are Serbian, that are indisputably Serbian. It never came into our minds to keep Macedonia by force. There is no Serbian majority there. Why should we force 700,000 Bulgarians, 700,000 Albanians and God knows who else to live together with us? No conflicts have broken out there either, no attacks on (Yugoslav Army) barracks. Our army withdrew from there peacefully. Why should we do it?

In Kosovo, however, we cannot retreat. For us this is sacred ground and we cannot give it up. On the other hand, we do we need central Bosnia, where Muslims form the majority—in Zenica, Tuzla, and so on? It is true that these have never been Serbian lands, and the Muslims have never been Serbs, although they possessed a Serbian national consciousness for several centuries.

[Chobanova] I also wanted to discuss the prospects for relations with Bulgaria.

[Seselj] We support having the best possible relations with Bulgaria. When we were all in the same party—Draskovic, Komnenic, and me—when those demonstrations took place in Skopje in the spring of 1990, we sent a letter in support of the Bulgarians. I have always been against recognizing this fictitious Macedonian nation, and have always advocated friendship with Bulgaria and finding a compromise solution. We hold the view that the eastern part of Macedonia should be handed over to Bulgaria.

[Chobanova] Do you suggest that Macedonia should be divided?

[Seselj] Yes, it should. The part populated by Bulgarians should belong to Bulgaria. I think this would be the best solution. And one of the reasons in its favor is the Albanian danger. Only by such a solution will we finally eliminate Turkey in the Balkans. If necessary, Albania should also be given the Western part of Macedonia, where Albanians form the majority. It is important to us

for the Albanians not to become a majority in the Vardar valley, which is a vitally important artery for us.

There is a danger that this may come about. The Albanians already form a majority in Skopje.

Miners Held; Court Launches 'Sabotage' Probe

AU0401210494 Paris AFP in English 2048 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 4 (AFP)—Five coal miners who helped coordinate a strike last week in the Kolubara basin near here were detained Tuesday, as court authorities launched a probe into allegations of sabotage linked with the stoppage, reports said. The arrests were announced by Zdravko Vucetic, the miners' union leader in the region 80 kilometres (50 miles) south of the capital, who told journalists that plans to resume strike action Tuesday had been shelved.

"We have suspended the strike until January 15, but... none of our demands have been met," he said. Vucetic named the five detainees as Milan Rankovic and Jelenko Micic—both members of the Serbian Electricians' Union—and strike committee members Ivan Zdravkovic, Dragan Vesic and Milisav Mihajlovic.

Meanwhile the Belgrade prosecutor opened an inquiry into alleged sabotage in connection with the strike, and called on police to "identify the employees at the Kolubara coal mine whose work stoppage caused enormous difficulties in electricity distribution," the TANJUG agency reported. Under Serbian law, anyone found guilty under the inquiry could be liable for a minimum sentence of three years in prison.

Vucetic said he was "indignant" at the sabotage accusations, which he rejected. The miners suspended their action on Friday for the New Year break as the stoppage triggered sharp power cuts throughout Serbia. The strikers had demanded a monthly salary of 35.9 [German] marks (around 20 dollars) and goods to the value of 50 marks by December 31, plus 10 kilogrammes (22 pounds) of meat at "affordable" prices by the end of January.

In a separate development here Tuesday the medical staff at a suburban hospital resumed a strike they suspended for the New Year's holiday, Belgrade radio said. The director at the hospital in Zemun said doctors and nurses were handling only minimal emergency services. They launched their action over a salary dispute Thursday, amid a spate of strikes that paralysed several sectors, including mines, railroads, and public transport and health services during the last two days of December. Two leaders of the railroad strike were detained by police over the weekend. Although authorities have granted several recent demands for higher wages, any increases have been quickly cancelled out by the effects of the hyper-inflation hitting Serbia.

Kosovo

Court Continues To Detain 10 Ethnic Albanians

AU0401203094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The Republic of Kosova Information Center reports that the Supreme Court of Serbia continues to detain 10 Kosovar Albanians who were arrested by the Serbian police last November on the charge that, allegedly, they and some other persons, as members of the Kosova Defense Ministry, made preparations for an armed war in Kosova. The counsels of the defendants have declared that the arrest of the Albanian youngsters runs counter to Serbian laws and this presents another flagrant violation of investigation procedures. The counsels of these Albanian prisoners have also declared that the defendants are continuously tortured by the Serbian police.

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